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EDITORIAL

With this issue the series of articles on Bernese Anabaptism by Delbert Gratz is brought to a close with a thorough account of Jura Mennonitism and its daughter settlements in nearby Montbeliard and Belfort, and Normanvillars. What makes the account doubly interesting and valuable is that in addition to migration and settlement history the religious life and practices, as well as social, economic, and political relations, are reported as fully as is possible from the extant sources. Particularly enlightening is the account of the attempt to force the Mennonites out of the Jura territory, in which, as was so often the case in Germany during the 17th and 18th centuries, the prince and the landowners supported the Mennonites and ultimately forced their toleration. This is the first scholarly and comprehensive report in any language on Jura Mennonitism.

Were the early Anabaptists Humanists, or if not were they the heirs of humanism, and possibly indebted to it for their major ideas? This is the problem set by Robert Kreider for inquiry in his article "Anabaptism and Humanism," a problem which has been examined by other competent scholars, but to which as yet no definitive answer has been given. Kreider's method is to study four Anabaptist leaders, Conrad Grebel, Pilgram Marpeck, Hans Denk, and Menno Simons, with a view to discovering humanist elements in their education, humanist expression in their writings, and humanist ideas in their theology and ethics. He concludes that while humanism undoubtedly was a factor in the rise of Anabaptism, it was not the exclusive one, and that in essence there is a radical difference between the two movements. "The humanist was a scholar, the Anabaptist a disciple," dedicated to do the will of God. This is a major contribution to a central issue in Anabaptist research, though not the final answer which we must have.

The concluding installment of Franz Heimann's study of Peter Riedemann's confession treats of major topics in Hutterite ethics and inner organization, with particular emphasis on the teaching of community of goods and nonresistance. In the discussion on nonresistance, the Hutterite doctrine of the state, and the Christian's relation to it, finds a major place. We are fortunate to have now in Heimann's dissertation for the first time a complete and systematic exposition of classic Hutterite doctrine, a large step on the way to that comprehensive exposition of Anabaptist theology which is so urgently needed.

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BERNESE ANABAPTISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, II

DELBERT GRATZ

Migration to the Bishopric of Basel

The first large number of Bernese Anabaptists to find refuge in the Jura went there from the Emmental in the early eighteenth century. Each time that the Bernese government attempted to rid itself completely of the Anabaptists within its borders the migration to the Jura Mountains also gained in numbers. In reports of 1716 and 1720 they are mentioned to have been numerous in the St. Immertal, near Tramelan and in Grandval. The year 1730 marked the high point of the migration. At first some would only remain during the summer, going to the Bucheggberg in Solothurn for the winter.

But here in the Jura they were little more welcome than in the land they had just left. Already in 1723 there were complaints against them. The natives of the church district of Corgémont attempted to expel the Anabaptists from their area on the following grounds: (1) They do not attend divine services. (2) Their children must be compelled by the officials to be baptized. (3) They buy up the hay so that the natives have little or must pay very dearly for what they get. (4) There are more cattle on the communal pasture on the Sonnenberg than before the Anabaptists came. (5) The Anabaptists and other foreigners clear much woods and

make fences on the mountains in order to sow turnips, carrots, potatoes, and cabbage. They burn the soil. By their excessive cultivation the communal meadows are injured. (6) Formerly the oxen from the villages were taken to the Sonnenberg to pasture. The dairy farmers up there drive the oxen away so that now a special pasture has been made for them. (7) The Anabaptists use so much wood on their dairy farms that in a short time the woods will be depleted. Then they will use from the prince's forest which would do great harm. In brief, these people are of no use at all to our commune.[14]

The communes in the Erguel were requested to complete lists of the Anabaptists in 1726. The communes of Sonvilier, Renan, and Les Montagnes complained especially and it appears that to a certain extent the Anabaptists were forced to leave this section of the Jura. The owners of the land then had their turn to complain. They wrote that through the expulsion of the Anabaptists they were greatly harmed. They were then obliged to rent to the natives. The landed persons would not rent and those without land were a poor financial risk. Besides this the stony terrain required much laborious manual labor. They said that the natives of Erguel were not inclined to do this type of work as were the Anabaptists.[42]

Early in 1725 a list of rules were decreed which the Anabaptists and other foreigners living in Erguel had to obey. They were as follows: (1) They must promise to obey all the laws of the prince and the officials as well as the constitution and the laws of the country. (2) If they hear a plot against the authorities they must tell it at once. They are to work for the advantage and not for the disadvantage of the country. (3) They must promise not to teach their doctrines nor hold open meetings. (4) They must pay the resident tax and all other public charges. (5) They must promise to leave the country immediately if ordered to do so. (6) They must not recognize any other governmental authority. They must go security one for the other.[43]

The communes of La Ferriere and Sonvilier in the parish of St. Imier complained on May 13, 1726, as follows against the Anabaptists: "Since several years ago numerous foreigners called Anabaptists or Pietists have slipped into the land of your highness and dwell in St. Imier. They rent estates and dairy farms. This is against the interests of your highness and also your subjects.

[41] B 187. *Mappe 23.* May 10, 1723.
[42] B 187. *Mappe 23. Passim.* [43] B 187. *Mappe 23.* Early 1725.

Please have them leave. Our complaints are as follows: (1) They rent land at a very high price, higher than the natives can pay. Only the rich landowners profit. (2) These folks do almost no plowing and sowing. This makes the tithe much less. The tithe administrators complain.[44] (3) The Anabaptists or Pietists[45] give a bad example to the natives in matters of religion. They never attend public church services. They don't even worship on Sunday. They hold meetings at night, secretly at different places, nobody knows where or when. It is possible that they might foment division and revolution. (4) Their conduct is especially dangerous for our young people. The Anabaptists could draw some of our serious-minded people to their sect. Experience has proved this several times. (5) These folks have no authentic papers from their home commune. They have been expelled from their home because of their rebellious attitude. (6) They have not given any oath to your highness and are not willing to take oath to defend the fatherland. They do not pay the residence tax and do not contribute anything to the poor fund. (7) If allowed to stay here they would draw a large number of others to come. It would be a great damage to the natives and could start a rebellion."[46]

On March 25, 1729, the five communes of the St. Imier parish, namely, St. Imier, Sonvilier, Villeret, Renan, and Les Montagnes, sent a further plea to the prince to rid their area of Anabaptists and Pietists. The reasons they gave for their request were as follows: (1) The Anabaptists pay very high rent, much higher than the subjects are able to pay. The foreigners yield to this and find supplementary work outside of their farming. Because of this the food prices become higher as more people come into the land. (2) These foreigners carry on little agriculture. Through this the grain tithe becomes smaller. This situation increases as the foreign population grows. (3) As renters the foreigners take away the homes of the subjects. They leave no feed for the cattle of the natives. As they bring in cattle from abroad they harm the market. (4) They give the subjects a very poor example in religious views in that they attend no religious services. Neither do they hallow Sunday and the Holy Days. (5) At nights they hold secret meetings here and there. If there should be among them bad persons it would be likely that stealing might be carried on. (6) The more numerous

[44] The tithes were rented to persons whose business it was to gather them. If the tenth proved to be more than what they had paid to the prince, they gained, but if it was less, they lost.

[45] Although there were Pietists in Switzerland at this time none appear to have been here.

[46] B 187. *Mappe 23.* May 13, 1726.

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they become the more the forests are harmed as they use a great amount of wood for their cheese making. (7) Furthermore, they have come here from their fatherland as expellees because of their stubbornness. They could not get along with the Bernese subjects in religion and politics. (8) In times of danger to the state they would be a great liability as they will not carry arms nor will they swear an oath of allegiance. For these reasons it is requested that these persons be expelled in accordance with an order of March 10, 1693.[47]

Under this pressure from his subjects Prince Johann Conrad gave out the order on November 30, 1730, that the Anabaptists and Pietists must leave the land at the end of the renting year.[48]

Further complaints came from the Münstertal. A request from the communes of Roches, Perrefitte, and Montagne de Moutier asked for the expulsion of the Anabaptists, who they said, occupy a large portion of the farms, and so make the native population homeless and unemployed. They made reference to an agreement of 1711 in which it was agreed that only the Protestant religion would be tolerated there except below Les Roches where only the Catholic faith could be practiced. The complaint was also registered that the Anabaptists worked on Sunday and that they used too much wood from the forests.[49] This was verified by the council of the city of Solothurn. In a writing it was mentioned that there were also Anabaptists living in the Solothurn dominion of Falkenstein lying on the border of the Bishopric of Basel who hold meetings in the Münstertal.[50] To this the bishop answered that upon the request of the people in Erguel he had already ordered the expulsion of the Anabaptists, but had so far tolerated them while they had not proselyted among his subjects.[51]

At the same time the officials of Delsberg wrote to the bishop. They said there were two points of view represented in their district concerning this question. The landless requested the expulsion of the Anabaptists while the landowners said they would be harmed if this should happen. The landowners claimed that it was their ancient right to choose whom they wanted for their renters. The rulers of Bern who visited the Protestant church in the Delsberg area each year were of the opinion that the Anabaptists should be tolerated. There were forty-three families in the area. Against their meetings they had nothing to say. But if the expulsion was to

[47] B 187. *Mappe 23.* March 25, 1729.
[48] B 245. *Mappe 29*[1]. *November* 30, 1730.
[49] B 245. *Mappe 29.* March 6, 1731.
[50] B 245. *Mappe 29.* March 28, 1731.
[51] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1731.

be carried out in earnest they were to wait until the expiration of the renting time so that the landowners could find other renters. Also the renters who were nearly all weavers wanted permission to get together a reserve of yarn. That was not possible to do before September or October.[52]

But the following year (1732) it seems the Anabaptists were still in their Jura homes as further complaints came to the ears of the bishop who evidently did not press his orders of expulsion. The commune of Tramelan sent a plea to the bishop that the Anabaptists should either be expelled or then taxed by the commune as they did not aid in the upkeep of the roads, and gave no wood for the building of water conduits but at the same time made the food more expensive. Johann Conrad decreed that 7½ Batzen ($5.00) tax be paid yearly to the commune and also the same amount to the bishop.[53]

A plea from the communes of Roche, Perrefitte, and La Montagne de Moutier was written on June 6, 1732, to the bishop protesting that the Anabaptists made living conditions impossible for the natives. They stated that the previous Tuesday five families had to leave because they could no longer make a living and many others were preparing to leave. The Anabaptists, they said, should be expelled so that the faithful subjects would have room.[54]

George Moschard, chief secular officer of the District of Moutier, described vividly the folly of expelling the Anabaptists. He argued that they bring money into the land, they work land that would produce nothing without them, they live very modestly, they do not visit saloons nor give cause for anyone to complain. They pay rents double the amount ordinarily paid by the natives.[55]

But just a week later (June 27) another protest was made by the Delsberg residents in which they said the Anabaptists were a profit to the rich and a ruination of the poor. The latter could not find any more land to rent. Besides this, they said the Anabaptists are a scandalous sect because it is a known fact that they bury their own dead in gardens or in the forest. They concluded that perhaps secret murders were committed by them. Also the fact that their meetings were held in secret cast reflections on what might go on at them.[56]

The communes of the Münstertal made a joint plea to the bishop on January 15, 1733, to expel the Anabaptists.[57] Pleading

[52] *Ibid.*, April 26, 1731.
[53] *Ibid.*, March 6, 1731-1734.
[54] *Ibid.*, June 6, 1732.
[55] *Ibid.*, June 19, 1732.
[56] *Ibid.*, June 27, 1732.
[57] *Ibid.*, January 15, 1733.

letters were also sent at the same time by Moutier-Grandval and the nineteen communes in the district of Moutier. Only a lone letter was sent by the commune of Court in their favor.[58]

Under this pressure which had been carried on for the past several years Prince Johann Conrad felt he could do nothing but carry out the wishes of his native subjects. On January 27, 1733, he issued an order of expulsion of sectarians and Anabaptists. Those who were not renters or were not under other special contracts were to leave within three months from the date of issue. Renters and those under contract were given a year to leave. This document was issued by the prince in his castle at Pruntrut.[59]

The commune of Court declared they were much against the expulsion and pleaded for a respite in January, 1734. This meant much because there were some twenty Anabaptists families in this commune.[60]

An Anabaptist recorded how they responded to this order. Many of them stopped working. They wept and prayed and did not know what to do. An eminent official went to the prince and appealed to him in their behalf. The official told the prince that these people were not harming the land but rather they were a great benefit to it as they farmed land which would not otherwise be cultivated; that the government received a tenth of their produce; and that they farmed the land correctly and thus were able to pay more rent which in turn helps the landowners to better meet their obligations. Because of this protest and others the prince did as he had done concerning his mandate of expulsion of 1730. He did not enforce it. In appreciation for this semi-toleration the Anabaptists presented the prince with a particularly fine piece of linen. Whenever a new prince was elected a similar gift was given to him.[61]

But this did not end the question. The same conditions prevailed and much the same feelings were found among the native population. Complaints continued much in the same vein for the next thirty-five years before a more definite solution was found.

Not all, however, lacked appreciation of their Anabaptist neighbors. A letter dated January 17, 1750, from some of the more highly respected citizens, including the ministers, of the parishes of Péry and St. Imier was sent to the prince. It describes the

[58] *Ibid.*, 1733.

[59] B 245. *Mappe* 29[1]. January 27, 1733.

[60] *Ibid.*, January 25 and January 30, 1734.

[61] Samuel H. Baumgartner, *Brief Sketches of Seven Generations: Descendants of Deacon David Baumgartner* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1908), 19.

situation of the time very well. It mentioned first that those who had advocated the expulsion of the Anabaptists some twenty years before had through their own negligence gone bankrupt and thought that by the expulsion of the Anabaptists they could again rent land cheaply. But the landowners were successful in persuading the prince not to expel them. The writers of the letter insisted that Anabaptists were of great profit to the land. Through their continual industriousness in farming or handwork, especially as weavers, through their simple living and complete abstention from luxurious living, tavern life, and lawsuits they were in a position to pay much higher rents than other persons.[62]

It was also complained that when Anabaptists die who have no children their estates go to a common treasury to help their own people, which according to the person making the complaint, should by law be turned over to the government.[63]

The lawyers of Pruntrut complained that the Anabaptists carried on their own jurisdiction. Through this, they said, it was possible for them to break laws for which the natives were punished and not be brought before the courts of justice. This made them a state within a state which could lead to bad consequences, the lawyers asserted.[64]

In answer to these complaints the prince said he wanted to deal with this delicate question with the greatest intelligence and discretion. But he asserted that there had been no positive complaints against these people and so far there was no positive proof that their methods were injurious to the prince. Rather, he said, it lies much more in the interest of a sound politic that the number of these persons here be increased as much as possible and that further entry of this group into the Bishopric of Basel be encouraged.[65]

Although no official order or mandate was passed stating definitely that the Anabaptists would be tolerated, these rather strong statements in favor of them given by the prince seemed to put an end to further complaints.

However, this did not insure them equal rights with their native neighbors. They were not permitted to own land but could only rent it. They were only allowed to rent land located on the high slopes or plateaus where the natives had never been able to prosper. The land here was too stony and dry and was suited to

62 B 245. *Mappe* 29[1]. January 17, 1750.
63 *Ibid.*, September 24, 1767.
64 *Ibid.*
65 *Ibid.*, September 27, 1767.

only a few crops and grazing. Neither were they allowed to live in the villages nor rent adjacent to them.[66]

Another political-legal aspect of the life of the Anabaptists of the Jura of this period was that of their *heimatrecht* (right of communal citizenship). The 1670's were difficult times in Switzerland. There was a general famine in the country which caused the number of beggars to rise to dangerous proportions. They would travel from one commune to another to eke out an existence by begging, and no commune would take the responsibility to care for them. Finally the Bernese government took a hand in the matter and decided that on a set day in 1672 each Bernese must accept the communal citizenship of the commune in which he was at that moment living. The beggars were likewise to receive this communal citizenship and in turn the commune was required to provide the subsistence for those not able to do so for themselves. This system has remained up to the present day. If one moves to another commune, or to another canton, or even to a foreign country the *Heimatrecht* of his paternal family is still his even though neither he nor his ancestors for hundreds of years have returned. Only through a special act of the government or an express request of the person to the government is this citizenship lost. The Anabaptists who were exiled and forced to promise never to return automatically lost this citizenship. But those who fled to the Bishopric of Basel and others who went to Montbeliard and Alsace did not, as most of them had left without being formally exiled. By 1743 official persecution of the Anabaptists ceased in Bern. But it was still not advisable nor of any avail for them to ask for any favors from the government. But by the 1760's a few Anabaptists living abroad, i.e., Alsace or the Bishopric of Basel, had the courage to return to their home communes and request a certificate of their communal citizenship *(Heimatschein)*. With this proof of citizenship most foreign regimes under which they lived did not force them to do military service. Many Mennonite families now living in France and a few in Germany have made use of this law down to the present time.

Some of the first Anabaptists who requested *Heimatscheine* from their home communes in Bern were refused on the grounds that they were Anabaptists. Other cases were referred to the state government at Bern. One of the first *Heimatscheine* that was issued to an Anabaptist was received by the brothers Christen and Ben-

[66] Abraham J. Moser, "Aus dem Leben der Schweizer Mennoniten," *Christlicher Bundesbote,* August 11, 1885.

dicht Schrag from Läumberg near Wynigen who were living near Court in the Münstertal.[67] This was granted on October 20, 1763. A few others received theirs later in the same decade but more in the following two decades. By the beginning of the French Revolution practically all those in France and the Bishopric of Basel who had as yet not a *Heimatschein* quickly got one. The Bernese Anabaptist family that was willing to accept French citizenship during the French Revolution period was indeed quite rare. Often it was difficult to prove descent from a direct lineal ancestor on the male side that had lived in the home commune. Since Anabaptists were rarely recorded in the state church baptismal records before 1780 this source was rarely of value, and all manner and form of documents were produced. But more often ancestral residence would be merely verified by the word of some of the older residents who had remembered or heard of the family as being citizens of the commune. After receiving the *Heimatschein* many of the families religiously sent a record of births to the home commune in order to facilitate the oncoming generations to procure *Heimatscheine* of their own. Many of these original *Heimatscheine* are still to be found in Bernese Anabaptist homes in Switzerland and America.

The French Revolution brought defeat to the once proud and intolerant government of Bern. At the same time the Bishopric of Basel collapsed and all its territory was occupied by French troops. The Bishopric of Basel was annexed to France and formed into the department du Mont Terrible. Bern was made a part of the Helvetian Republic. Land was taken from the Catholic Church and the large landowners in the Bishopric of Basel and sold to the farmers. With the cry of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" the French gave the Anabaptists some faint hope of further toleration and perhaps complete religious freedom (1789 ff.).

Religious Life of the Jura Anabaptists

Concerning the spiritual life of the Bernese Anabaptists in the Bishopric of Basel little definite is known. Complaints from the populace during the first half of the century give a few hints. It was complained that they held secret meetings at night. Another complaint was they did not observe the Sabbath nor the holy days. Still another complaint was made that they carried on mutual aid through a common treasury.

During the first half of the eighteenth century it was not possible for them to hold open meetings in the Jura. Only seldom

[67] *R. M.* 267/197.

could they meet. After work was done in the evening the families from several neighboring plateaus would make a trek of an hour or two to an inconspicuous cave or secluded ravine. Here meetings consisting of prayer, singing, and exhortation would last two or three hours. Often they would close with communion. Two such places are still pointed out by the present generation of Jura Anabaptists as being places where their ancestors worshiped during these times. One is the Geiss-Kirchlein, a cave in the cliff above Le Pichoux located in the commune of Soubo̊z. Farther above is the present Anabaptist school and church of Le Perceux. Another place of this nature is the Anabaptist Bridge (*Täufer-Brücke* or *Le Pont des Anabaptistes*) and Anabaptist Ravine (*Täufer-Graben*) located near the crest of the Cortebertberg.

Within the church organization there was a relief fund (*Armengut*) that was built up by the property of deceased members who were childless. Through the deacons (*Armendiener*) aid was given to the needy members. A modified version of this is still in existence in some of the Jura churches. The earliest records of this work go back to 1715. Money is recorded as having been given to sick, old persons not able to support themselves, and victims of accidents. At times some were aided with their fare to migrate to America. The deacons were reimbursed for their expenses from special collections.[68] The duties of the deacon in later times also included the collecting of money and carrying on of private schools.

The religious meetings were carried on in the spirit of a closely knit family circle. When the brethren would meet before the meeting they would greet each other with the kiss of charity and say "God be with us."

The ministers and deacons were highly respected not only because of their position and their grave duties but for their personal Christian lives. Every year on Annunciation day (March 25) they would come together for a conference and discuss the church problems.

The known names of the ministers and elders in the Bishopric of Basel during the eighteenth century are as follows:

Peter Ramseier, born 1706, lived on the Münsterberg, elected minister of the word (*Diener am Wort*) in 1730 and in 1732 made elder.

[68] The records are at the Altevangelische Taufgesinnten Archiv, Jeangisboden, La Tanne, Berner Jura.

Niklaus Knör from Bucheggberg, minister of the word at Plagne. Died July, 1773.

Hans Röthlisberger, lived in the commune of Courgémont, became minister in 1752 and elder in 1759.

Peter Burkhalter from Rüderswil at Büderich (Péry), was elected as minister in 1762 and 1766 as elder.

Christian Haueter at Courgémont, became minister in 1750 and elder in 1772.

Hans Lehman, elected minister in 1761 and elder in 1772.

The following is a list of ministers together with the dates of election to this office: Peter Lehman, 1750; Bendicht Wahli, 1760; Michael Imhof, 1761; Christian Gerber, 1761; Simon Burkhalter, 1764; Hans Geiser, 1765; Ulrich Habegger, 1764. On the same list the following two are listed as being ministers in upper Alsace (likely the Florimont region): Ulrich Bösiger, 1750; Christen Thüler, 1753.[69]

Deacons (*Armendiener* or *Diener der Notdurft*) during the eighteenth century included the following: Hans Ramseier, Jakob Marti from Sumiswald living at Büderichgraben, and David Baumgartner from Langnau living at Büderichgraben. The latter was born in 1735 and died in 1819.[70]

The work and responsibility of the Anabaptist ministers in the Bishopric of Basel was no small one. In fact they had under their supervision all of the activities of the Anabaptist church in Switzerland. It being an especially strong body spiritually they were at times also looked to for advice and guidance from neighboring Alsace and the Palatinate.

After the persecution in the Emmental in the first two decades and the large immigration of the second and third decades the Anabaptist church life there was all but extinguished. For several decades following 1730 the few scattered brethren in the Emmental were served by the Jura ministry. This was no small task when one considers the distance and especially the danger involved in their traveling back and forth. It was customary for couples from the Emmental church to go to the Jura to be married by a minister there.

During the three decades following 1760 some five trips were made by elders of the Anabaptists in the Bishopric of Basel to the brethren in the Palatinate. Here they held meetings and gave

[69] Letter dated August 7, 1775, in the Altevangelische Taufgesinnten Archiv at Jeangisboden. Hereafter referred to as A.T.A. See also Geiser, *op. cit.*, 450-452.

[70] Geiser, *op. cit.*, 452.

admonitions. Later they were used as arbiters between two factions that had arisen.

In the spring of 1762 Peter Ramseier, Peter Oberli, and Jakob Marti traveled to the Palatinate to hold meetings among the brethren. According to a document that they brought back they had held meetings in a number of places. This was signed by twenty-five elders and ministers. They went to Freudenberg on May 16, 1762, Weierhof on May 31, 1762, Rauhof on June 13, 1762, Schafbusch and Niederrödern on June 16, 1762.[71]

A short time later a great revival took place among the Anabaptists in the Palatinate. Many who had only accepted the form of the Christian life as interpreted by the Anabaptists were now awakened to a new spiritual life. The pietistic Peter Weber from Hardenburg in the Palatinate seemed to be the leading spirit in this movement. He was not only active in his ministry but also in corresponding with the various ministers in trying to convince them to the same spirit that he had. But not all agreed in this movement. The elder Abraham Zeisset started a movement against it and expelled the following ministers from their office who had joined it: George and Abraham Bechtel, Jost Glück, and Jacob Krehbiel. They were not silenced through the regular established procedure which indicated that there was not an accord within the church on the matter. A conference was then called in which the ministers were to discuss and make peace among themselves. The brethren from the Jura were also invited to aid in making peace. Peter Ramseier, Jakob Marti, and Niklaus Knör went. The conference was held on October 14 and 15, 1766, at Rauhof. The meaning of baptism was the main point of difference. The more conservative party wanted to keep baptism as a mere form that would be administered at a certain age. The more progressive group insisted that baptism should only be administered to those who had inner convictions as well as outwardly had expressed their desire to join the church. When the Jura brethren left they thought that the two parties had come to an understanding, but a few months after they arrived home word came that strife had been renewed. This grew to such proportions that on Easter, 1767, communion was not celebrated in the entire Palatinate as the churches demanded that their ministers first make peace among themselves.[72]

[71] A.T.A., May and June, 1762.

[72] A.T.A., letter dated April 23, 1767, from Möllinger and Stauffer of Mannheim to the Swiss brethren.

In 1770 Peter and Hans Ramseier and Hans Steiner made a trip from the Jura to the Palatinate to try to settle the dispute to no avail. Twelve years later in 1782 Peter Ramseier went for his fourth time to the Palatinate. Accompanying him were Hans Lehmann, Bendicht Wahli, Hans Steiner, and David Baumgartner. Finally peace was attained by the disputing Palatinate brethren at a meeting at the Himmelhäuserhof.[73]

The Economic and Social Life of the Jura Anabaptists During the Eighteenth Century

As even today, the lot of the Jura Anabaptists was not an easy one. To eke out an existence on the stony plateaus took much continuous hard work. The standard of living, although higher than their native neighbors, was far below what they had left in the Emmental. In fact, one can say that the only thing that was in their favor was the semi-toleration given them by the Catholic prince.

The soil on the high plateaus which they were permitted to rent was not conducive to the raising of a large variety of crops. Oats, barley, potatoes, and flax were the most common crops. They carried with them the art of cheese making from the Emmental and plied it as space and resources would permit. Cheese and butter were usually sold to pay rent. During the long winter months they all plied a trade as linen weaving, basket weaving, spinning, wood turning, or cabinet making. Many long winter days and evenings were spent by all the members of the family working at some handicraft. Most common of these was the working of flax into linen. Besides, linen was used for clothing for themselves and they usually had some left over to sell. But during the summer all helped in the fields from daylight to dark.[74]

The supply of water is never certain on the Jura plateaus. Wells can not be dug since no water veins exist. Water from the rains goes right through the porous limestone mountains down to the streams in the valleys far below. The drinking water for people and animals is caught from the roofs and stored in cisterns. This fact gave rise to a completely different type of architecture from what they were accustomed to having in the Emmental. This style, known as the Jura house, has wide and gently sloping roofs. This makes the greatest area for catching water as it falls.

[73] A.T.A., May 14, 1782. Also May 2, 1784.
[74] Moser, *op. cit.*, August 15, 1885.

The Anabaptists were only permitted to rent land away from the villages. They were also far removed from the markets. This forced them to become nearly self-sufficient so far as provisions were concerned. Only occasionally did they go to sell their cheese and linen.

Language, culture, religion, and their isolated location made them tend to keep apart from the French-speaking native population, thus forming cultural and language islands of their own.

One of the few literary productions dealing with Jura Anabaptist life in the eighteenth century concerns a visit in the 1780's to the home of an Anabaptist minister, Bendicht Wahli, by C. Meiners, professor of philosophy at the University of Göttingen. This bit of literary art gives one an insight not only into the home life and industriousness of this almost legendary character of "Täufer Bänz," but at the same time gives a description of Jura Anabaptist life of the latter eighteenth century as seen by a keen observer of the time who was in no way connected with the group. He writes:

"We took courage and after an hour and a half climb came to the home of old Benz . . . a clever Anabaptist. He lives on this part of the Jura called the Biel mountain. As he had to leave his place of birth in Canton Bern because of his religious beliefs he built a home here. He leased his present location, which was formerly a waste, with a loan from the city of Biel of 50 crowns ($600) and built a comfortable and roomy house. He planted a variety of fruit trees, laid out a garden, cultivated fruitful meadows and fields and together with his children plies his old handicraft of weaving in the remaining hours. As we came to his house we found him with his children sitting at the table where they were eating breakfast. The breakfast consisted of mashed potatoes and the syrup from dried pears. Both of these were in special dishes and very tasty and clean. Although the industrious Benz is already well over 60 years old and has grey hair and beard, he is nevertheless still so robust that he can go down to Biel every day one or more times. He is one of the most esteemed ministers of the approximate 1,000 Anabaptists who are scattered over the plateaus and valleys of the Jura which belong to the city of Biel and the bishop of Basel. As both of these powers have not taken part in war for many years and as it appears they will not take part in any in the predictable future, it is possible for them to permit such a sect who considers it a sin of death to go to war and shed man's blood. Besides old Benz the Anabaptists have 25 ministers. The old prophet who received us in such a friendly way preaches nearly every Sunday and goes every third or fourth Sunday several hours distant to proclaim the word of God to his brethren. The more difficult the journey he must make, the more rich are his spiritual treasures. Ordinarily he preaches three or four hours. He told me himself that a minister (Reformed) from Zurich heard him and thought that he must have studied in his youth. He has an unbelievable knowledge of the holy scriptures and there is no scripture passage of value that is not always present for him

and that he can't immediately say. Some of our party started in a high manner to discuss with him the particular tenets of his faith and we all marveled at what he said, for they had seldom heard the ideas of his sect, and especially how he knew how to use the favourable passage of the Bible. The conversation of this old, vigorous and ingenious man was for us a main source of conversation and I am convinced that this old man who has with his own hands built up and beautified a formerly unused piece of earth, and through his piousness has comforted many souls and held them back from corruption, that much more will be his heavenly reward than many of the renowned conquerors who have destroyed whole civilizations and laid waste flourishing lands."[75]

Emigrations from the Jura in the Eighteenth Century

The fear of being exiled existed among the Bernese Anabaptists in the Jura from soon after they started settling there in large numbers until about 1767. They looked toward Montbéliard,[76] the Sundgau,[77] and Pennsylvania as possible places to go. Only fifteen years after they got definite word of toleration in the Bishopric of Basel another reason arose for emigration. Their numbers had grown so that by 1783 the land that they had been permitted to rent was becoming overpopulated. At this time they looked toward Prussia, inner France, the Sundgau as well as other ranges in the Bishopric of Basel.[78]

Ever since 1712 when some of the Anabaptists from Ste. Marie-aux-Mines moved to the Principality of Montbéliard there had been contacts and a trickle of migration from the Emmental and the Jura to that settlement. As the Montbéliard community was entirely Amish most of the contacts were with the brethren in the Jura of the same group.

The first traces of Anabaptists in the southwestern part of the Sundgau in the region of Delle are in the decade of 1740. At first the group consisted of families who moved from the Principality of Montbéliard but soon families appeared that had previously been in the Jura.

During the uncertain period other families looked toward America where only a generation before many of their relatives had found a refuge from intolerance and fertile soil to ply their art of dairying and farming. In 1754 some six families left the district

[75] C. Meiners, *Briefe über die Schweiz. Erster Theil* (Berlin, 1790), 208ff. Bendicht Wahli lived at the place known as Maison Blanche near Leubringen (Evilard). He was likely the son of Durs Wahli, a citizen of Ittigen in the commune of Bolligen near the city of Bern. He married Catharina Oberli and had at least four children.

[76] At the time a principality belonging to the Duchy of Württemberg.

[77] The southern part of Alsace. At the time it included what is now the Territory of Belfort as well.

[78] A.T.A., letters of 1783.

of Courtelary. The family names were Brechbühl, Liechti, Tschantz, Moser, Staufer, and Burkhalter. The families of König, Neuenschwander, and Engel also left about the same time. At this time the sea trip was little changed from all the perils and seasickness experienced by those leaving from Holland much earlier. A letter dated December 7, 1755, was sent by Ulrich Engel, Christen Brechbühl, and Isaak Neuenschwander who were then at Donegal, Pennsylvania, to their friends and relatives in the Jura. In this letter it is mentioned that a man named King (LeRoy), formerly of Sonceboz, had left his wife and young children at Conestoga in Lancaster County, and had gone with his elder son and daughter and his farm helper, Odina from Tramelan, and other families to a place on the frontier called Shamokin. The Indians warned the settlement that they should leave or suffer the consequences. The settlers refused to heed this warning and some time later came an Indian attack. The homes of six families were burned, thirteen persons were killed, and the others taken captive. King was killed and his son and daughter and farm helper were taken prisoners.[79]

The Bernese Anabaptists from the Jura who went to America at this time were soon amalgamated into the established Mennonite settlements in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Only scattered families of the Bernese Anabaptists found their way to America between 1755 and 1816. This was a period of wars and unsettled conditions in the English colonies which culminated in the Revolutionary War and later the War of 1812. This period was anything but conducive to American immigration. The last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade and a half in the nineteenth century were likewise times of unrest in Europe with the French Revolution and Era of Napoleon making conditions especially difficult for nonresistant people and impossible for migration.

By 1780 the numbers of Anabaptists in the Jura had outgrown the space which they were permitted to rent. The only solution was emigration. America, the land where their relatives had gone in the beginning of the century, was closed because of war conditions. The elders of the Jura Anabaptists corresponded with the Mennonite minister Lorenz Friederich in Neuwied on the Rhine concerning possibilities for migration to Danzig, Prussia, or Holland. He in turn contacted the Amsterdam Mennonites concerning possibilities in the Amish settlements in Ostfriesland, and also the breth-

[79] Müller, *op. cit.*, 365, 366.

ren in Altona concerning the possibilities in Holstein. There are no indications that any left for either of these places at this time.[80]

During the years 1783 and 1784 four families from the Jura went to Limoges, France.[81] A small community was established there but some years later they returned to Montbéliard and the southern Sundgau settlements.

All through this period a movement continued to the southern Sundgau where especially the Lords of Florimont gave them protection. This will be mentioned more fully in the sections dealing with Montbéliard and Normanvillars.

Montbéliard

The beginning of the eighteenth century found the majority of the Anabaptists in the present territory that is now France located in the valley of Ste. Marie-aux-Mines in Alsace. Names found in this Anabaptist community were: Luginbühl, Bachmann, Blank, Ioder, Hochstettler, Zimmermann, Schwartz, Rupp, Linder, Lüti, Gerig, Gerber, Müller, Kropf, and Fahrni. In 1708 the natives of the valley of Ste. Marie-aux-Mines complained that the Anabaptists were given special privileges in that they did not have to bear arms. They made a great protest to the government. The complaints arose partly because of the prosperity of the Anabaptists through their industry and thrift. Finally, on July 24, 1712, the Alsatian Intendant, Pelletier de la Houssaye, directed the question to King Louis XIV. He received an answer from the secretary of the king, Voisin, from Fontainebleau dated August 13 stating that the king did not intend to tolerate the Anabaptists in Alsace, and directing that they should be notified through a general decree that the agreement of Münster and Osnabruck in 1648 only permitted those of the Lutheran or Reformed faith to live in Alsace. On September 9, 1712, the Intendant sent to all the local officials in Alsace an order to expel all the Anabaptists from the land without exception. They were also not permitted to settle in any other portion of the French Kingdom that was not included in the terms of the agreement of Münster and Osnabrück.[82]

Great consternation came over the Anabaptists in Alsace. Many migrated to Montbéliard and Lorraine. Others went to the Breisgau and still others to Zweibrücken and the Palatinate. Many of those who left got a statement from their officials to the effect

[80] *Ibid.*, 247.
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] Ch. Mathiot, *Recherches Historiques sur les Anabaptists de l'Ancienne Principaute de Montbéliard, d' Alsace et des Regions voisines.* (Belfort, 1922), 30, 31.

that they had been good citizens, had not broken the laws, and were well liked in the land but were being expelled because they were Anabaptists. But a sizable number remained. On October 23, 1727, another list of the Anabaptists in Alsace was made. The following year an order went out that the number of Anabaptists was not to increase. When a child became of age he must leave or his parents must leave with him.[83]

Montbéliard was a principality lying south and west of Alsace but belonging to the Duke of Württemberg from 1397 to 1796. Wilhelmn Farel had worked here as a Reformer, and his followers had organized the Lutheran Church there. The first Anabaptists to arrive in the Principality came from Bern in the first years of the eighteenth century during persecution times. But the large numbers of Anabaptists did not appear in Montbéliard until 1712 when this became one of the chief places of refuge for those who had lived in Alsace. These came primarily from the Markirch Valley. They organized a strong church which was, as were also the Alsatian churches, of the Amish group. They moved only onto farms that belonged to Duke Leopold-Eberhard, who had procured much land because of an expropriation law. The Anabaptists were very welcome to him as they were very industrious farmers. Although the native population did not appreciate their coming the Duke gave them full protection. They were permitted to have their own cemetery, to organize their own school, and were not required to swear the oath. They were not, however, permitted to build their own church building. They felt so secure that they even started a church record in 1750.[84] This was the first church record to be started in any of the Swiss Anabaptist churches in Europe. In 1790 the minister, Samuel Stoll, and Christen Känel, led a small migration of several families to Poland where they settled. In 1793 the Montbéliard church contained 250 persons, baptized and unbaptized. The French Revolution years were trying ones for them, when Montbéliard was united to France. With this came threats that the Mennonites would have to swear the oath of allegiance and do military service. After protesting to the government they were not required to do service at this time nor later during the Napoleonic wars.[85]

After the French Revolution some of the Anabaptists bought land. More and more became landowners. The German language

[83] *Ibid.*, 32-35.
[84] The original church record is still in the possession of the Mennonite church at Montebéliard. A copy is in the Goshen College Library.
[85] Mathiot, *op. cit.*, 119-142.

remained the language of the Anabaptists here until the close of the nineteenth century and German services were held as late as the second decade of the twentieth century. All through the years there continued to be a trickle of migration from Switzerland and Alsace. At the same time some were lost to the Lutheran Church through intermarriage. In the second, third, and fourth decades of the nineteenth century many migrated to America. Here they formed the large Amish communities in central Illinois, New York, northwestern Ohio, and Iowa.

In a list of Anabaptists in Montbéliard made in 1759 the following Bernese families are represented: Roth from Steffisburg, Frey from Röthenbach, Schmucker from Grindelwald, Stoll, Ulli, Schindler, Bösiger from Attiswil, Mosimann from Sumiswald, Linder, Gäumann, Meyer, Krähenbühl from Röthenbach, Hablützel, Koller from Kamen, Schlunegger from Grindelwald, Kläuer from Sumiswald, Schaad from Attiswil, Baumgartner from Kirchdorf, Eicher from Diessbach, von Kennel from Reichenbach, Dändtler, Schuhmacher, Oberli, Kauffman, Hochstettler from Schwarzenburg, Fähnni, Graber and Wahli.[86]

Normanvillars

By 1740 the Anabaptists were again tolerated in French territory. Some families moved outside of the Württemberg island of Montbéliard to the near-by Sundgau. Until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 this land had been a possession of the Habsburgs, at which time it was given to France. The Anabaptists first spread to the French-speaking portion of the Sundgau called the district of Belfort which lay along the northeastern border of Montbéliard. In the southern part of this district the Lords of Florimont owned and ruled a rather large tract of land. They favored the Anabaptists and permitted them to settle in the northern part of their domain in the pond-forest region called the forest of Normanvillars. Here they improved the then existing farms and carved new ones out of the primeval forest. Although only a few of the farms are now cultivated by Anabaptists, the settlement still stands in the heart of this forest as a memorial to a once flourishing Anabaptist community.

The first Anabaptist families in the Normanvillars settlement of which we have definite record are that of Jacob Kaufman who lived on the farm called Rothaus (Maison Rouge) and

[86] *Ibid.*, 73-78.

Johannes Hilti who lived in this settlement as early as 1747.[87] The Ulrich Bösiger family was already there in 1750 and the Christen Tüler family in 1753.[88] Families continued to come to this general area during the years that followed so that by 1780 nearly every farm not connected to the villages in the communes surrounding Florimont was occupied by Anabaptists. These were Courcelles, Courtelevant, Faverois, Boron, Jonchery, Réchésy, Lepuix-Delle, Suarce, Chavanatte, Chavanne-les-Grandes, Magny, Montreux-Jeune, Bretagne, Vellescot, Grosne, Froidfontaine, and Morvillars. The center of the Anabaptists in the southern portion of the district of Belfort remained in the settlement in the forest of Normanvillars, although a considerable number were also located in the southern part of the commune of Florimont at Chateau Vert and St. André. Some of these settlers came from the Montbéliard community but more came from the settlements in the Jura.

In a report to the Intendant of Alsace sent by local officials of Belfort in 1780 a few facts are given concerning the Normanvillars settlement.

"Belfort, June 30, 1780

"I have the honor to transmit to you information concerning the circumstances of the Anabaptist families scattered in the district of Belfort. Most of the families have been here some time. They are numerous and their sect propagates rapidly. One sees their growth only a little because most of them live in the forests and on the farms and secluded homes which are removed from the villages with which they have little connection.

"They are known to be industrious and intelligent. They live in peace, do not quarrel nor use litigation and do not employ others to do their work. They do not own any land of their own. Their wealth is made up of cattle. As their children marry very young, they divide their possessions early and the resources of the father and mother are passed on to their children but they remain with their children to pass their old age in work.

"All of the Anabaptists living in this district are farmers or weavers. The former rent good farms from the nobles and gentlemen who prefer them to others because they receive more rent and they pay their taxes punctually. Those who are weavers lease houses away from the villages where they quietly carry on their profession. So far there are twelve families located in the forest of Normanvillars which belongs to the Lords of Florimont. The weavers do not raise the food for their own consumption. If the government decides to make restrictions on this sect in Alsace, they should start with restrictions on the weavers as they commence to get corrupt because they are less energetic.

[87] Tax lists in the archive of the Commune of Florimont.

[88] A.T.A., letter of August 7, 1775. According to *Archives departmentales du Haut Rhin*, C 1284, four families arrived in 1740, 1 in 1745, 2 in 1750, 1 in 1754, 1 in 1757, 3 in 1760, 1 in 1763, 1 in 1765, and 7 in 1770's.

"It is not the same with those on the farms. These make up the necessary farmers of the region. They do not seek to rent great estates, they can not be overburdened, they are preferred over other farmers because they are very exact to complete their promises and one never has lawsuits with them. It is very rare to see them discontent with their landlords.

"One good means to diminish the rate of increase of the Anabaptist families of this area would be to reduce them to the class of day laborers and prohibit them to will their possessions without first obtaining permission.

"In regard to the charges, one has no just accusation, my sir, when one says that the Anabaptists do not support themselves. They are subject to the poll tax. They pay the taxes of the owner. No farmers of the same means would pay more. They pay dearly in the form of extra toll for any exemptions. The only exemption given them, in general, is in the matter of levying provincial soldiers. M. de Blonde, subdelegate at Belfort."[89]

The first list of the Anabaptist families found was compiled in 1791 because of the troop mobilization that was then taking place. In the commune of Florimont twenty-three of the ninety-seven families were Anabaptist. The following were living in the northern part of the commune called the forest of Normanvillars which by that time was almost solidly settled by Anabaptists: Charles Berner, Johannes Stauffer, Johannes Amstutz, Ulrich Thüller, Christian Luginbühl, Daniel Steiner, Peter Thüller, Ulrich Bösiger, Johannes Steiner, Peter Luginbühl, Johannes Wenger, Peter Kauffman, and Christian Christener. In the southern settlement of the commune of Florimont the families of Christian and Johannes Bösiger lived at du Fahy and the following families lived at Chateau Vert and St. André which were farmed as one unit at this time: Joseph Hilti, Johannes Lehman, Philip Hilti, Joseph Martin, Johannes Tanner, Peter Kauffman, and Johannes Mosimann.[90]

While the background of each of these families is not certain it is definite that they did not represent a single group that had left the same area for the same reasons as was the case with the Montbéliard Anabaptists. The families of Berner from Schafisheim, now Canton Aargau, and Luginbühl from Oberthal near Grosshöchstetten were not Anabaptists when they arrived in France The Berner family settled at Exincourt in the Principality of Montbéliard shortly before the middle of the eighteenth century and only because several of the children married Anabaptists did it happen that a part of this family became Anabaptist.[91] The Lugin-

[89] *Archives du Haut-Rhin*, C 1284. *See* also Mathiot, *op. cit.*, 106-110.
[90] *Archives de la Commune Florimont Contribution Mobiliar*, 1791.
[91] *Taufregister Staufberg*, IV, 47, 142, 143, 158, 159.

bühl family moved to the Principality of Montbéliard in the decade of the 1720's. But there is every indication that they were members of the Lutheran Church at Audincourt until at least 1750 and there is no record of them joining the Anabaptist group at Montbéliard until 1778. The families of Bösiger from Rumisberg, Hilti from Oberönz, and Amstutz from Sigriswil were likewise not of old Anabaptist stock although it is likely that at the time they came to Normanvillars they did belong to the church.[92] Wenger, Steiner, Thüller, Lehmann, Mosimann, Stauffer, and Tanner indicate older Anabaptist stock from the Emmental, some of whom came via the Jura.[93]

As was the custom with the Anabaptists of this period their meetings were held in the homes of members having a large room to accommodate such a service. Although there is no definite indication that there were two separate groups, that is Amish and Reist, there are a number of facts that lead one to believe that both groups did exist here. The Kauffman family of Maison Rouge kept in close contact with the Montbéliard church (which was Amish) in that they had their children baptized and recorded in the Montbéliard church.[94] The family of Klopfenstein which moved from the Amish community near Belfort during the fore part of the nineteenth century and also the Rich family appear to have belonged to that wing of the church.[95] That the Steiner, Luginbühl, Thüller, Bösiger, Schumacher, and Hilti families were of the Reist group is proved by the fact that upon their arrival in America they joined with the immigrants from the Jura of the same group rather than associate themselves with the Alsatian Amish communities which were established at about the same time. Neither did they ever adopt the practices of feet washing and shunning which all of the Amish churches practiced rigidly at that time.

Meetings of the Anabaptists of this region were first held in the Montreux community as far as is known. The first ministers known here were Klaus Engel at Montreux, Peter Klopfenstein at Bourogne, and Michael Müller at Chavanatte. Supposedly the families of the Normanvillars region also attended the meetings held here but there is no proof for this. In a list of ministers of the Jura the names of Ulrich Bösiger and Christian Tüller are listed

[92] *Grosshöchstetten Auswärtige Taufrodel,* I, 71, 94, *Taufregister Oberbipp. Auswärtige,* I, 10. *Oberönz Bürger Rodel,* I, 80. *Sigriswil Taufrodel,* 1770, 1771, 1791, etc.

[93] Proved by the fact that these families appear on the early lists of Anabaptists of the Bishopric of Basel. See B 187, *Mappe* 23, 1724-1725. B 245, *Mappe* 29[1], 1738-1740.

[94] Montbéliard Church Record, III.

[95] *Ibid., passim.*

as being in upper Alsace in the decade of the 1750's.[96] As these names correspond with later lists of the inhabitants of the Florimont region likely they were ministers here. About 1780 the Montreux church divided into two groups because of the great distance that many had to travel to go to meetings. The northern group formed what was known as the La Maie church, named after the main farm where they met near Belfort, and the other called the Florimont church, or in German *Blumbergerwald*.[97] Meetings of the latter group were most frequently held at the farms of Chalembert and Beuchat in the Commune of Boron, some four kilometers away from the Normanvillars settlement.[98]

During the latter part of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century Hans Steiner appears to have been the leading elder of the Normanvillars brethren. It may be noted that previously he had been active in helping conciliate the division in the Palatinate.[99] As neither Steiner nor the previously mentioned Tüller and Bösiger are mentioned in the Montbéliard church record it can well be supposed that their church was separate from any Amish ties. Added to this is the close relationship that existed between Steiner and the Jura ministry. A son of Hans Steiner named Daniel became the leading elder of the church and after him a grandson named Christian Steiner, the latter migrating to Ohio in 1835.

The Anabaptists buried their deceased on their own farms since they were not permitted to use the cemeteries of the Catholic churches of the region. At Chateau Vert and also at the Ferme de la Charme (Buchwald) small Anabaptist cemeteries were once in existence.

With the coming of the last decade in the eighteenth century came the French Revolution and its overthrow of most established customs and institutions, from the rulers to the calendar. Most of the land was taken away from the Lords of Florimont and sold to persons with money and influence which later gave rise to a wealthy landholding class. The nonresistant principle of the Anabaptists was protected through the influence of such leaders of the Revolution as Robespiérre. In 1792 a number of reforms were introduced that had some effect on the Anabaptists here. The recording of births, marriages, and deaths was set up as a function of the commune to be carried out in the same manner all over France. Before

[96] A.T.A., letter of August 7, 1775.
[97] Now called *Chapelle des Fermes* located at Normanvillars.
[98] Pierre Sommer, "Historiques de Assemblées. Assemblée de Montreux. Assemblée Florimont," *Christ Seul*, Juin, 1930, 8-10.
[99] Se page 111.

that time these records were only kept by the local church leaders in any manner which was deemed fit. So the Anabaptists were not recorded in most places until that time. At the same time the French Revolution calendar was introduced and used for official government reckonings but not adopted by the people in everyday use. This lasted some twelve years when it was abolished and the former system reinstated.

By the end of the eighteenth century several other Mennonite families appear in lists of inhabitants in the Normanvillars region. Some members of the Klopfenstein family moved here from near Belfort. A family named Schaker from Helbach moved here but does not appear to be of old Anabaptist stock. The family of Schumacher was of Swiss origin but lived in the Breisgau for some years previous to settling near Montbéliard in 1739.[100] Shortly before the turn of the century all the living members of the family settled in the Normanvillars settlement. A single man named Johannes Zürcher from Rüderswil worked as a day laborer here.[101]

Most of the Anabaptists in the Normanvillars settlement rented farms which they cultivated. They carried with them the art of cheese making via the Jura from the Emmental. Another group plied the trade of linen weaving.[102] Some of the farmers wove as a means of supplementing their income in the winter. The linen goods they produced were of good quality and came to be known at the market at Belfort as "Anabaptist linen" (*Toile Anabaptiste*). Other trades carried on by Anabaptists here were milling and tile making.[103]

Conclusion

By the end of the eighteenth century Bernese Anabaptism had been scattered quite far. Most of their emigration had taken place during this century. Settlements were made in Holland, additions were made to the Palatinate churches and also those in Alsace. Besides this a new movement started for America in the early part of the century which lasted until nearly the middle. Because of expulsion in Alsace new settlements were made in the Principality of Montbéliard. Large settlements were made in the high mountain plateaus of the Jura Mountains in the Bishopric of

(Concluded on page 141)

100 Mathiot, *op. cit.*, 77.

101 *État Civil, Commune de Florimont.*

102 Mathiot, *op. cit.*, 90.

103 Pierre Sommer, "The present situation of the French-speaking Mennonites," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* II, 4 (Oct. 1928), 273.

ANABAPTISM AND HUMANISM

An Inquiry into the Relationship of Humanism to the Evangelical Anabaptists

Robert Kreider

"The profound spiritual father of the Anabaptists was Erasmus," declares the late Zwinglian historian Walther Köhler.[1] In agreement with Köhler is Professor Leonhard von Muralt of Zurich who concludes that the Anabaptists, as well as the Reformers, are intellectual-spiritual heirs of Christian humanism. Humanism was preparatory to Anabaptism states von Muralt, contributing material for the construction of their teaching. Singled out is the indefatigable work of the humanists on the Bible and their emphasis on the distinctive significance of the Bible as the sourcebook for the Christian faith. Further, the humanist influence is found in the uncompromising moralism (*Tatchristentum*) and religious pacifism of Anabaptism. Professor von Muralt observes that through Erasmus the *Nachfolge Christi* conception of the *devotio moderna* was mediated to the Anabaptists.[2] Walther Köhler also asserted the Anabaptist convictions regarding religious toleration to be of humanist origin.[3]

Equally penetrating and thorough scholars of Anabaptism have disagreed with the view held by Köhler and von Muralt that the Anabaptist movement is in large measure derivative from humanism. Professor Harold S. Bender, while granting the decisive influence of Zwingli and the Reformers, rejects the theory that the Anabaptists were children of humanism.[4]

Thus the problem is posed for our inquiry: Can the Anabaptists be described as humanists? If not humanists, are the Anabaptists at least intellectual-spiritual heirs of Christian humanism?

I

Before we plunge into a study of the interrelationship of humanism and Anabaptism, it is necessary to define that somewhat nebulous term, "humanism." A classic definition of humanism has been given by Paul Joachimsen, who defined it as "an intellectual

[1] Walter Köhler, "Wiedertäufer," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 2nd edition (Tübingen, 1931), V, 1918.

[2] Leonhard von Muralt, *Glaube und Lehre der Schweizerischen Wiedertäufer in der Reformationszeit* (Zurich, 1938), 6-7.

[3] Köhler, *op. cit.,* 1918.

[4] See Harold S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, Indiana, 1950), 74-75, 200-203, for an evaluation of the influence of humanism upon Conrad Grebel.

movement which was rooted in an urge toward the rebirth of classical antiquity."[5] There may not be agreement among all authorities as to the elements comprising humanism. The following attributes, however, are suggestive: 1. Humanism was characterized by an increased interest in the Greek and Latin classics. Coupled with this was a search for the authentic texts of classical authors and for the relics of antiquity. 2. The study of the classics led to admiration and then imitation of classical models. This emulation of the classics was found in a variety of pursuits: art, architecture, coin making, literary style, oratory. 3. In humanism was a high confidence in the rational capacities of man. Optimists concerning the educability of man, they placed a strong accent on education, although this had an aristocratic tendency. 4. The humanists had a heightened sense of historical consciousness. They thus gave encouragement to patriotic historiography. 5. Humanism furnished an intellectual atmosphere in which "man is considered the measure of the universe and the architect of his own fortunes," although this was more characteristic of Italian than of transalpine humanism. 6. Humanism produced a new intellectual elite which was more predominantly laic than clerical. 7. The humanist intellectual climate encouraged freedom of inquiry and showed tendencies toward religious toleration. 8. In general the humanists, because of their antagonism toward dogmatic and authoritative religious beliefs, were not interested in theology.[6]

The above description, however, does not account adequately for that northern variety of humanism associated with the dominating personality of Erasmus. Modifying the Joachimsen definition, one might say that here was an ethical-intellectual movement which was rooted in an urge toward the rebirth of classical antiquity and classical Christianity. Erasmus envisaged a reform of the whole of human society achieved by the rule of reason and inspired by the newly discovered norms of primitive Christianity and classical society. Although perhaps never successful in fusing the two, he wished to reconcile Christian and pagan antiquity. Wallace K. Ferguson summarizes Erasmus' program for the reform of religion and good letters:

> The central conception of that program was the necessity of returning to the original sources of pure Christianity and classical culture. Erasmus

[5] Paul Joachimsen, "Der Humanismus und die Entwicklung des deutschen Geistes," *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte,* VIII (1930), 419.

[6] Edward P. Cheyney, "Humanism—Historical Aspects," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* VII (1932), 537-42.

believed that the necessary reformation could be brought about only by restoring both religion and learning to their ancient purity and by clearing away the mass of barbaric accretions that had grown up around both during the past thousand years. Hence, his insistence on the study of the three ancient tongues as a prerequisite to theology; hence his own scholarly editions not only of the classics but of the Fathers and the Greek New Testament; hence, too, his constant comparisons of contemporary ecclesiastical institutions and practices, of churchmen and theologians, with the simple, ideal Christianity, the *Philosophia Christi,* presented in the early Christian writings. [7]

As a further attribute of this undogmatic, simple, ethical Christianity, Erasmus stressed that men should live together in universal peace and harmony. Although not an absolute pacifist, he had an elemental aversion for war. The ideals of Erasmus were embodied supremely in the human figure of Christ. His teachings are to be rationally apprehended and followed and His example imitated. This was the *Nachfolge Christi* tradition of the *devotio moderna.* But in Erasmus the imitation of Christ was not so much a response to divine grace as action predicated on belief in man's rational capacity and the perfectibility of man by his own efforts. In this context is to be seen Erasmus' teaching of the freedom of human will. Erasmus further cultivated a detachment from the institutional phases of Christianity.

II

An examination of the relationship of humanism to the evangelical Anabaptist movement can best be approached by a study of individual Anabaptist leaders. Selected for study are several of the outstanding leaders of the movement: Conrad Grebel (c. 1498-1526), Pilgram Marpeck (c. 1495-1556), Menno Simons (1496-1561), and Hans Denck (1495-1527). With the exception of Denck, all of these men adhered to the moderate, evangelical wing of the movement. Hans Denck was half-Anabaptist, half-spiritualist, but for the purpose of indicating the fluidity and variety of the Anabaptist movement he is included in this study.

In seeking to determine the presence of any humanist traces in these Anabaptist figures there are several key questions which may be asked in the case of each Anabaptist leader: (1) Did he have a humanist education? Correlated with this are questions regarding his knowledge of classical languages, the books he read, and whether he had humanist associates. (2) Did he give active expression to humanism in writing, correspondence, or scholarly vocational pur-

[7] Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (New York, 1948), 41.

suits? (3) Did the ideas he expressed have affinity with the teachings of such a humanist, for example, as Erasmus? Each figure is to be examined individually with regard to the first two points. Since the theological and ethical positions of Grebel, Marpeck, and Menno Simons are so closely similar, they will be treated collectively with regard to their Anabaptist ideology. With the spiritualist-mystic strains present in Hans Denck's position, his theological position calls for separate treatment.

Conrad Grebel

The founder of the Anabaptist movement was Conrad Grebel (c. 1498-1526), born of a patrician family of Zurich. He came to manhood in the very period of the flowering of humanism in Switzerland. His brief life—with its succeeding stages as a humanist, Zwinglian, and Anabaptist—is a most fascinating one. Within recent months a biography of Conrad Grebel has appeared which treats exhaustively all known details of his life.[8] Only a mere sketch of the humanist phases of his life can be incorporated here.

Conrad Grebel probably spent six or seven years in the Latin school, the Carolina, at the Great Minster in Zurich. In the fall of 1514 he enrolled at the University of Basel for a winter's study. He was a member of the *Bursa* which centered around the humanist scholar, Henry Loriti, better known as Glarean. In the fall of 1515, supported with a stipend from Emperor Maximilian, he transferred to the University of Vienna, where he studied until June 1518, and where he was a student of the famed Swiss humanist Joachim von Watt of St. Gall, known as Vadian. A warm friendship developed between Vadian and Grebel. Years after Grebel's death Vadian referred to him as "endowed with great gifts." Vadian in 1519 married Conrad's younger sister, Martha. Conrad Grebel followed with intense interest Vadian's geographical studies. He contributed a Latin poem to the preface of the first edition (1518) of Vadian's commentary on the ancient geographical treatise of Pomponius Mela. The second edition of this commentary was published by Andreas Cratander in Basel in 1522 with an introduction by Grebel. In this second edition of Mela, Vadian describes a scientific expedition to the summit of Mount Pilatus near Lucerne, Switzerland, which was made by Vadian in August 1520 in the company of the humanist scholars Myconius, Xylotectus, and Conrad Grebel. This has been described the "first scientific mountain climbing trip."[9]

[8] Bender, *op. cit.*

[9] "Conrad Grebel and the Revival of Geography," *Goshen College Record Review Supplement,* XXVII (May-June, 1926), 48-51.

During the summer of 1518 he left Vienna to take up residence at the University of Paris, where he entered the *Bursa* of his former teacher, Glarean. Grebel's life as a student in Paris was a chaotic and unhappy one. He quarreled with Glarean and left his house. In Paris, however, he had opportunity to attend the lectures of Nicholas Beraldus and to have some contact with William Budaeus. In July 1520 he had returned to Zurich from Paris dejected and ill. Continuing in his melancholy state, he found one of his few pleasures in the meetings of a learned circle convened by Zwingli for the study of Greek literature. He studied with eagerness the writings of Plato. Like other humanists, Grebel desired the opportunity to study in Italy, the fountainhead of the new learning. He planned to continue his studies at the University of Pisa with the financial aid of a papal stipend, but apparently he developed pangs of conscience about the acceptance of foreign gifts. In the autumn of 1521 he was in Basel serving as a proofreader in the shop of the famous printer, Cratander. Soon the restless Grebel was back in Zurich. During the year 1522 came the great divide in his life; Grebel was won for the evangelical cause by Ulrich Zwingli. This seems to have been a decisive conversion experience for Grebel, for his whole temperament was changed. His letters no longer spoke of discouragement and ill health. He was filled with indescribable joy to be a colleague of Zwingli in the great work of reform. From this point on his letters are distinctly Biblical in outlook.

Before proceeding further with this bright, new chapter in Grebel's life, we must review more carefully the humanist era of his life. The principal source of information for this pre-1522 period of Grebel's life are the forty-seven extant Latin letters which he wrote to Zwingli, Myconius, and Vadian, preserved in Zurich and St. Gall.[10] Edward Yoder, the translator of Grebel's letters, states that these letters compare favorably in their literary style with those of the other humanists of the period. He adds, however, that Grebel's Latin style seems labored and heavy compared to the graceful clearness characteristic of Erasmus' and even Zwingli's style.[11] One observes in reading these letters a profusion of classical allusions. Yoder indicates that these classical phrases and allusions are not simply plucked from Erasmus' *Adagia,* but evidence a wide reading of classical authors.[12] He shows no favoritism for particular

[10] "Epistolae Grebelianae," trans. Edward Yoder (typewritten manuscript in the Goshen College Library, Goshen, Indiana).
[11] Edward Yoder, "Conrad Grebel as a Humanist," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* III (1929), 141.
[12] *Ibid.,* 143.

ancient authors. Throughout Grebel's correspondence are frequent references to classical and contemporary books which he is reading or has purchased. More than sixty titles are specifically mentioned in his letters. He apparently possessed an excellent personal library.[13]

In the circle of young Grebel's friends and acquaintances were included many of the most prominent humanist scholars of Switzerland. With easy familiarity he invites in 1518 Ulrich Zwingli, then of Einsiedeln, to be his house guest in Zurich. He explains that Vadian and Myconius will also be there.[14]

These early letters of Conrad Grebel indicate that he was not a pagan humanist. Although somewhat blurred at times, he had a keen ethical sense. This was most marked in his growing opposition to the Swiss mercenary system in which his father was deeply implicated. In 1520 he read with enthusiasm a pacifist manuscript entitled *Philirenum* which was written by Myconius. An added indication of his moral sense is to be seen in the deep shame which he expressed following his student escapades. Although his letters are silent on theological and Biblical questions, he voices no skepticism regarding religion. Throughout his letters, however, is a mood of personal pessimism. He frequently ascribes his misfortunes in a fatalistic manner to the ill will of Fortuna, a typical humanist invocation. In this humanist period Grebel was a decided Swiss patriot, who was deeply offended, for example, with a political treatise by Jacob Wimpheling in which this Alsatian humanist urged the Swiss to return to the Holy Roman Empire.[15] He expresses his desire to realize his own fullest potentialities, wanting to deserve recognition among the famous men.[16]

This was the talented, groping, unhappy young humanist who in 1522 threw himself completely into the Reformation struggle. Zwingli was highly pleased with the young patrician and scholar. According to Heinrich Bullinger, who was Zwingli's successor in Zurich, Zwingli planned to appoint Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz —Grebel's close colleague in the subsequent Anabaptist movement —for the positions of Greek and Hebrew teachers in the theological school which was planned for Zurich.[17] But meanwhile in 1523 a

[13] Ernst Correll and H. S. Bender, "A Letter of Conrad Grebel to Andreas Castelberger May 1525," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* I (1927), 41-53.

[14] Grebel to Zwingli, July 31, 1518, "Epistolae Grebelianae," *op. cit.,* 11.

[15] "A Letter of Conrad Grebel to Ulrich Zwingli," *Goshen College Record Review Supplement,* XXVII (Sept. 1926), 38-41.

[16] Grebel to Vadian, October 26, 1518, "Epistolae Grebelianae," *op. cit.,* 18.

[17] Bender, *Conrad Grebel, op. cit.,* 251-52.

tinge of disappointment began to color the attitude of Grebel and his colleagues toward Zwingli. The young radicals felt that Zwingli was moving too slowly and cautiously. They demanded a radical break with the Roman Catholic tradition and demanded the institution of a primitive New Testament pattern of church life. After a series of private conferences and public disputations the rupture between the radicals and Zwingli came in January 1525. It was then that the first Anabaptist congregation was formed. The first congregation grew out of small Bible study circles in Zurich. In these meetings the bookseller Castelberger gave an exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Grebel expounded the Gospel of Matthew from the original Greek, and Manz taught from a Hebrew Old Testament. There was a great joy among them in their rediscovery of primitive Christianity. After a few months of ceaseless evangelistic activity and organizational work Conrad Grebel died of the plague in the summer of 1526.

The extent of Grebel's writing from the Anabaptist period of his life is so slight and the themes are so limited that it is extremely difficult to evaluate the literary and personal influences which molded his mature Anabaptist position. At this point two reputable scholars of Anabaptism are led to divergent conclusions. Professor Leonhard von Muralt states that Grebel's later Anabaptist position is unthinkable without the conditioning influence of humanistic Christianity, especially as mediated to him by Zwingli.[18] Professor Harold Bender in his discussion of the ideological sources of Grebel's theology concludes that not humanism but rather Grebel's own personal study of the Bible explains his Anabaptist theology.[19] Professor Bender, thus, is led to emphasize a radical discontinuity between Grebel the humanist and Grebel the Anabaptist in order to enhance the unique creativeness of his leadership in the new movement. It is manifestly clear that Grebel had severed himself from humanism with its passion for the Greek and Latin classics, its rationalism, its consciousness of being intellectually aristocratic, its man-centeredness. And yet I am inclined to believe that humanist influences continued to operate in subtle and perhaps profound ways in Grebel, the Evangelical and the Biblicist. There are overtones of the humanist in his desire to bring to rebirth the form and the spirit of the primitive church and to do this on the basis of a conscientious study of the New Testament record. It does not seem necessary to minimize the continuity of Grebel's relationship to humanism in

[18] Leonhard von Muralt, *Konrad Grebel als Student in Paris* (Zurich, 1936), 133.
[19] Bender, *Conrad Grebel, op. cit.*, 191-203.

order to establish the fact that he was the leader of a uniquely new and creative historical movement.

Pilgram Marpeck

For a quarter of a century Pilgrim Marpeck (c.1495-1556) was the leading minister among the Swiss and South German Anabaptists. That he was permitted a normal span of life and a natural death is a most remarkable fact, for virtually all of the early Swiss-South German leaders of Anabaptism died a martyr's death.

Pilgram Marpeck was born in the last decade of the fifteenth century at Rattenberg in the Inn Valley of Tirol. By the year 1520 he is listed in the records as a mining engineer; in that year he was admitted to the mining guild. Three years later he became a member of the lower city council of Rattenberg and by 1525 a member of the upper council. He was appointed a mine magistrate at Rattenberg, but in this well-salaried position he did not remain long because by the end of 1527 he had made the spiritual journey from Catholicism to Lutheranism to Anabaptism. He soon lost his position and his property of some 3500 florins.[20]

With his family Marpeck fled Tirol in 1528, finding later in that year a place of refuge in tolerant Strasbourg, where he received employment as an engineer to supervise construction of waterways for floating lumber from regions of the Black Forest to the city. Marpeck succeeded in 1531 to the leadership of the vigorous Anabaptist community in Strasbourg. In this city he began his Anabaptist writing, publishing two booklets on believer's baptism which were suppressed by the city censors. Following three public disputations with Martin Butzer, leader of the Reformed party, Marpeck was expelled from the city in 1532—the charges against him being his opposition to infant baptism, his insistence on the separation of the church from the state, his opposition to the civil oath, and his rejection of defense by force.[21] For the next twelve years he traveled quietly as an Anabaptist leader to Moravia, the canton of the Grisons, the city of Ulm, and perhaps Tirol. From 1544 to 1556 Marpeck lived in Augsburg, where curiously enough he was employed as *Stadt-Werkmeister*. During these latter years Marpeck was active as a literary defender of the Anabaptist cause. His controversy with Caspar Schwenckfeld, a radical Reformer of

[20] J. Loserth, "Studien zu Pilgram Marbeck," *Gedenkschrift zum 400-jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten* (Ludwigshafen a.Rh.: Konferenz der süddeutschen Mennoniten, 1925), 139.

[21] John C. Wenger, "The Life and Work of Pilgram Marpeck," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XII (1938), 153.

pietist inclination, resulted in the publication of three large volumes. These volumes written in German constitute today the most extensive source available on sixteenth century Anabaptist thought.

There are only a few objective traces of humanist influence in the life of Pilgram Marpeck. The Austrian historian Johann Loserth, who has made a special study of Marpeck, concludes that he undoubtedly studied in the Latin school which was then in Rattenberg. One may observe that Marpeck used in his writings many Latin words. Loserth finds that Marpeck's style bears the imprint of Latin, leading him to assert that Marpeck "thought in Latin but wrote in German." He adds that his Latin was that of humanism rather than scholasticism.[22]

Little is known of Marpeck's acquaintances in Strasbourg. He had at least several discussions with the humanist trained Wolfgang Capito, who was sympathetically inclined toward the Anabaptists. A study of Marpeck's five hundred page long *Antwort* to Caspar Schwenckfeld reveals that he wrote as an expositor of Biblical theology.[23] Beyond Scriptural references, he cites the Church Fathers more than any other sources, his preference being for Ambrose, Augustine, and Tertullian. There are also a number of references to that classic of mysticism, the *Deutsche Theologie,* which Marpeck seems to have read with favor. Marpeck refers frequently to the views of the Reformers. A few contemporary treatises are mentioned, including ones by the historian Sebastian Franck and the grammarian Ickelsamer Valentin. In Marpeck's *Treatise on Baptism and the Lord's Supper* (1542) one observes more traces of humanist influence. He gives several historical expositions of church practices, referring to the varying viewpoints of Church Fathers. He apparently read Tertullian's *De Corona Militis,* but it is difficult to determine whether he read the other Church Fathers in the original or relied on such secondary sources as Sebastian Franck. He indicates having read Erasmus' *Paraphrases of the New Testament* and perhaps another of his works. He employs Erasmus as authority in describing the practice of the Lord's Supper in the primitive church.[24]

From the external evidence one can conclude that Pilgram Marpeck was touched by humanism. It is doubtful, however,

[22] Loserth, *op. cit.,* 137.
[23] J. Loserth (ed.), *Pilgram Marbecks Antwort auf Kaspar Schwenckfelds Beurteilung des Buches der Bundesbezeugung von 1542* (1929).
[24] Christian Hege (ed.), "Pilgrim Marbecks Vermahnung," Gedenkschrift, op. cit., 266.

whether he was profoundly influenced by the movement, certainly much less than Grebel.

Menno Simons

Menno Simons (1496-1561) came late to the Anabaptist movement, finally identifying himself with the radical cause in 1535. Within a few months this ex-Frisian priest rose to a leading position among the Anabaptists, continuing for a period of twenty-five years as their principal spokesman and organizer in the Low Countries and North Germany. As a leader he exerted a steadying, heartening influence among the scattered congregations during the years of intense persecution. Further, his significance lies in his writings which spoke to the need of the common people of his time. Under his leadership the Anabaptist movement grew in the Netherlands and throughout northern Germany.

Menno Simons was born in 1496 in the village of Witmarsum in Friesland. As a youth Menno received training for the Catholic priesthood, perhaps in the Franciscan monastery at near-by Bolsward. There he studied Latin and the Church Fathers, but, as he later confessed, he received little instruction in the Bible.[25] Soon after his consecration as a priest in 1524, there began for him a period of great spiritual struggle. Lutheran and Anabaptist ideas were abroad in the land. For ten years he deliberated before breaking with Catholicism and declaring himself for the outlawed Anabaptist cause. Early in 1537 he was called by his fellow Anabaptists to serve as an elder (bishop).

The period from 1536 to 1543 was one of intense activity for Menno Simons in Holland. During this period he wrote seven books and pamphlets in advocacy of the new cause. In 1542 while he was serving in and about Amsterdam, Emperor Charles V issued an edict against Menno Simons, placing a handsome price on his head.[26] Thereafter he lived the life of an Anabaptist wanderer—organizing churches, writing, preaching, moving on from place to place: East Friesland, Cologne, Holstein, East Prussia. His last years were lived under the protective wing of a nobleman near Lübeck.

In his study of humanism in the Netherlands, P. van Oversee concludes that Menno Simons and his Anabaptist colleagues were spiritual heirs of the *devotio moderna* and were participants in what he calls a "Biblical Humanism."[27] The historian W. J. Kühler also

[25] Menno Simons, *Complete Works* (Elkhart, Indiana, 1871), I, 3.
[26] John Horsch, *Menno Simons* (Scottdale, Pa., 1916), 55-57.
[27] P. van Oversee, *Het Humanisce als Levensbeschouwing in de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1948), 104.

attributes the rise of Dutch Anabaptism to the climate of humanism and practical Christianity cultivated by the Brethren of the Common Life.[28] As we survey Menno Simons' life for traces of humanist influence, it is easier to speak of an intangible "humanist climate" than to name the concrete humanist influences operating upon him. Menno Simons' writings show that he had a good Latin style and some knowledge of Greek.[29] Later in his life he spoke of how he treasured learning and cultivated a knowledge of languages—not as ends but as instruments in the Christian life.[30] He expressed occasionally aversion to the titles and pride associated with attainment in the academic and ecclesiastical world.[31] He evidences in his writings an acquaintanceship with the teachings of the Church Fathers, but here he seems to have employed secondary sources. He is known to have read with interest Tertullian's *De Corona Militis*.[32] He made frequent use in his writings of Eusebius' *Church History*. Among contemporary authors he was most appreciative of Sebastian Franck, whose *Chronica, Zeitbuch oder Geschichtsbibel* and other writings were the principal source for his references to ancient authors. He read the works of the Reformers—Luther, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Oecolampad. Menno Simons held Erasmus in high esteem.[33] He is known to have made constant use of his Latin-Greek New Testament. In his works are references to other writings of Erasmus.[34] Menno Simons used a variety of sources in his Biblical studies: the Vulgate and the translations of Erasmus, Luther, Sebastian Castellio, the Christian Froschauer Zurich Bible. In addition he employed many different commentaries for his unceasing Biblical studies.[35]

There is no question but that Menno Simons was influenced by the humanist movement, but in terms of the observable aspects of his studies and literary interests there is only sufficient evidence to indicate moderate humanist influence upon Menno Simons.

Hans Denck

Urbanus Rhegius speaks of Hans Denck as the "Abbot" of the Anabaptists and Berthold Haller, in a letter to Zwingli in 1527,

[28] W. J. Kühler, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de Zestiende Eeuw* (Haarlem, 1932), 25-35.

[29] Horsch, *Menno Simons, op. cit.*, 17.

[30] Menno Simons, *Works, op. cit.*, II, 145.

[31] *Ibid.*, II, 266.

[32] *Ibid.*, II, 203.

[33] *Ibid.*, II, 204.

[34] Cornelius Krahn, *Menno Simons* (Karlsruhe, 1936), 39-48.

[35] *Ibid.*, 110.

refers to "Denck, the Anabaptist Apollo."[36] Contemporaries described him as well poised, gracious of manner, a deeply mystical character, a man loved by his associates. The youthful Denck was a most influential leader among the Anabaptists of South Germany during the few years prior to his premature death in 1527. As an Anabaptist-spiritualist he differed, however, from the typical mainstream representatives of Anabaptism such as Grebel, Marpeck and Menno Simons. There is no question but that he was thoroughly nurtured in humanism.

Hans Denck was probably a native of Bavaria, born about 1495. He studied and received his baccalaureate degree at the University of Ingolstadt in 1517. Three years later he was to be found in the humanist circle of Augsburg, among whom Bernhard Adelmann acted as his patron. In 1522 he was in Basel studying at the university, perhaps—as many authors wish to think—learning from Erasmus. In the autumn of 1523 he obtained the master's degree from the university, having distinguished himself as a Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar.[37] Toward the close of his academic career he received employment as a proofreader at the press of Cratander, the Basel humanist publisher, and later at the Basel press of Curio.[38] Denck's interests at this time were primarily literary rather than religious. In this Basel period he composed his first literary piece, a Greek verse for the title page of a Greek grammar. While in Basel he acquired the friendship of Oecolampad, Basel reformer, whose lectures on Isaiah he attended. Through the mediation of Oecolampad and Pirkheimer, the distinguished humanist scholar and patron, he was invited to the headmastership of St. Sebald's school at Nürnberg.

In Nürnberg Denck showed an extraordinary receptivity to the new Reformation ideas. Here he met the radical Thomas Müntzer and through him became deeply impressed with the mystical concept of the Inner Word. He showed an increasing partiality for a spiritualist approach to religion and for a faith with a strong ethical note. He soon became involved in controversies with the Lutheran leadership of the city, notably with the Reformer Osiander, and so after eighteen months' sojourn he was banished in 1525 from Nürnberg for his radical views.

In the spring of 1525 Denck was residing in St. Gall, the guest of Anabaptist friends. Here he became intimately acquainted with

[36] Alfred Coutts, *Hans Denck* (Edinburgh, 1927), 15.
[37] Frederick L. Weis, *The Life, Teachings and Works of Johannes Denck* (Strasbourg, 1924), 11.
[38] Rudolf Wackernagel, *Humanismus und Reformation in Basel* (Basel, 1924), 354.

a most vigorous Anabaptist community. He moved on to Augsburg. It was there that he was baptized and publicly declared himself identified with the Anabaptist movement. Rapidly Denck emerged as the recognized leader of the new, expanding movement in Augsburg. Again he was banished for his views and he fled to Strasbourg. Here he was greeted warmly by the humanist scholar and reformer, Wolfgang Capito, who felt a close affinity to the Anabaptists. The friendly, tolerant climate soon chilled; Denck departed for Bergzabern, Landau, Worms. In Worms he collaborated with the left-wing Ludwig Hetzer in translating the Hebrew prophets. Meanwhile, he composed from time to time devotional treatises which were printed and were influential throughout the entire South German region.[39]

As a recognized leader in the Anabaptist world, Denck presided at the Anabaptist Synod of Augsburg in August 1527. Attended by sixty leaders from all parts of the German-speaking lands, the conference was of major importance for purifying the movement of chiliastic tendencies and for plotting the missionary strategy.[40] Weary from his harassed wanderings, Denck sought a quiet refuge in Basel in the home of Oecolampad. It was in Basel that he died of the plague in the autumn of 1527.

Hans Denck undoubtedly received a complete humanistic training. He was frequently praised for his thorough mastery of the three ancient languages. Vadian spoke of Denck as a "most gifted youth, in whom all excellencies were truly so present that he even surpassed his age and seemed greater than himself."[41] Denck and Hetzer demonstrated notable humanistic talent in their translation of the Hebrew Prophets into German. This work appeared in Worms on April 13, 1527, entitled: *Alle Propheten nach hebräischer Sprache verteutscht.* The translators evidence the finest humanist spirit in the Preface in which they said they "had not spared their greatest diligence, had not been ashamed to question where they hoped for answer, had left undone no reading, had despised nothing, had made every effort to furnish the truest possible interpretation." This first modern translation of the Prophets enjoyed a wide circulation and was even used extensively by Luther, who was appreciative of its exactness. It went through many editions.

39 Ludwig Keller, *Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer* (Leipzig, 1882), 210.
40 Adolf M. Schmindt, *Hans Denck* (Habertshof, Neuwerkverlag Schlüchtern), 11.
41 Weis, *op. cit.,* 28.
42 Ludwig Hetzer and Hans Denck, *Alle Propheten nach hebräischer Sprache verteutscht* (Augsburg, 1529).

In his search for an answer to his religious quest, Denck seems to have found his satisfaction not so much in the classics as in the New Testament and the writings of the mystics, especially the book of sermons of Johann Tauler and the *Deutsche Theologie*. Although Hans Denck was a spirit-mystic, he felt an affinity to the bibliocentric Anabaptist movement. As one surveys his thought life, one observes that Hans Denck's theology is weighted on the side of spiritualism:

1. Denck was an ardent student and lover of the Bible; yet he was reluctant to accept the principle of the absolute and objective authority of the written Word of God.[43] In contrast he represented the conception of the authority of the living Inner Word, an inherent moral force in man.

2. He saw in each man "a spark of the divine Spirit." He did not believe in the depravity of man. Man is a free being, who may obey or disobey the inner voice. This confident sense in man's moral and intellectual stature and maturity is at once spiritualist and humanist in conception.

3. Like the Erasmian humanists he sought to distill from historic Christianity its real essence. This core is that God is love and that love is the essential impulse of life. Infused with this love, the sacramental and institutional structure of Christianity becomes nonessential, even harmful. This spiritualist obliviousness to structural aspects of religion no doubt separated Denck from the evangelical Anabaptists with their Biblical objectivity.

4. He taught that God's love was supremely exemplified in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. Denck directed attention to the historic Jesus, the perfect man, whose life was to be the pattern for the Christian. Like the Brethren of the Common Life he urged the imitation of Christ. This accent on the historic Jesus—the Jesus of the pure beginnings—is at one with humanist thought.

5. Finally, Denck lived and preached the doctrine of nonresistance. This is not unrelated to Erasmian pacifism, but he seems to go beyond Erasmus' peace philosophy in that he identifies nonresistance with his innermost spiritual imperatives.

In several respects Hans Denck diverged from the humanist pattern. As an Anabaptist spokesman he addressed himself not to the intellectual elite, but to the common people. He wrote in a simple concise German for the nurture and edification of the widest possible reading public.[44] Further, when he became an Anabaptist,

[43] Coutts, *op. cit.*, 62.
[44] Otto E. Vittali, *Die Theologie des Wiedertäufers Hans Denck* (Offenburg, 1932), 27.

Denck ceased to have that humanist characteristic of detachment. He was now a man with a cause for the masses. Denck would have preferred the life of a scholar but events had thrust him into the world of action and conflict. During his last months he seemed to revert to the desire to detach himself from the discipline, the urgent activism of being a sectarian leader. In Basel he sought a quieter, more contemplative life. Perhaps this was the re-emergence of Hans Denck,the humanist. One is led to conclude that Hans Denck embodied within himself a synthesis of spiritualism, humanism, and Reformation radicalism.[45]

III

Our final concern is to examine Anabaptist ideology for traces of the contribution to it of humanism. The ideology of Conrad Grebel, Pilgram Marpeck, and Menno Simons—with their remarkable similarity of teaching—is here surveyed as a unit. The ethic and theology of the spiritualist-Anabaptist Hans Denck has required a separate summary. This discussion of Anabaptist ideology has been classified into several categories which relate to the various areas of humanist-Anabaptist interrelationship.

1. A central imperative among the Anabaptists was to restore the New Testament church. This concern for Christian primitivism may be of humanist derivation—not in program or detailed content, but as a certain method and receptive attitude toward antiquity. The Anabaptists felt in this approach a thrill of discovery of a long-buried past. Franklin Littell suggests that this normative use of the early church among Anabaptist is of humanist origin mediated to the first Swiss Anabaptists by Zwingli.[46]

2. The Bible was divinely authoritative to the Anabaptists. They rejected, however, a dead level authority to all parts of the Bible. The Old Testament was to be interpreted in the light of the New Testament. Their center of emphasis in Scripture was the Synoptic Gospels, indicating a concentration of interest on the person and example of Christ. Menno Simons gave this key to an understanding of the Bible: "All Scripture must be interpreted according to the spirit, teaching, walk, and example of Christ and the Apostles."[47] The Anabaptists, like the humanists, vigorously opposed the use of allegorical methods in Scriptural exposition. Similarly they both opposed chiliastic speculation in Bible study. The ob-

[45] *Ibid.,* 50.

[46] Franklin Littell, "The Anabaptist View of the Church," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1946), 139.

[47] Menno Simons, *Works, op. cit.,* I, 65.

ject of Bible study was to ascertain simply what Jesus and the Apostles said and did.[48]

3. The Anabaptists accepted the Lutheran formula of justification by faith, but they insisted that this faith must be evidenced (*Bussfertigkeit*) by newness of character. Their great motto was *Nachfolge Christi*—discipleship, following Christ.[49] This emphasis has some kinship to the tradition of the *devotio moderna* which Erasmus in turn mediated in his *Philosophia Christi.*

4. The Anabaptists conceived of the church as a brotherhood, a voluntary association of committed Christians. The symbol of adult baptism was accordingly for them the "covenant of a good conscience toward God."[50] Their goal was a "holy community." All members of the brotherhood were to be active in bearing responsibility in the fellowship. Coupled with their radical doctrine of discipleship, they stressed the role of the laymen.[51] The church was organized along simple, lay, congregational lines. The Anabaptists broke completely from the liturgical tradition in worship. They had simple services consisting of prayer, the reading of Scripture, and preaching. Further, they insisted that the church was to be distinctly separated from the state. The restoration of the primitive church, the active role of the laity, simplicity in church government and worship—all these principles the Anabaptists felt to be directly derived from Biblical imperatives. Whereas Erasmian humanism had encouraged in a detached way such reforms, the Anabaptists sought sacrificially to make these reforms immediate historical realities.

5. The great indictment which the Anabaptists made of Roman Catholicism and even more sharply of Protestantism was that their faith did not appear to issue in New Testament ethical conduct. Much of the initial success of the Anabaptists was attributable to their moral earnestness, with which the laxity of the Evangelicals was often in sharp contrast.[52] The love ethic, they believed, dictated a form of social and economic mutual aid among Christians and a stewardship view of property. The Hutterian Brethren, a wing of the evangelical Anabaptists found in Moravia, carried these principles a step further and practiced an absolute form of Christian communism. Anabaptism in its ethical emphasis is not unrelated to the Erasmian tradition of a moral reformation, but whereas this was

[48] Krahn, *op. cit.*, 104-7.
[49] Johannes Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung* (Leipzig, 1923), 224.
[50] Hege, *op. cit.*, 231.
[51] Loserth, *Pilgram Marbecks Antwort . . . , op. cit.*, 104.
[52] Emil Egli, *Die Züricher Wiedertäufer zur Reformationszeit* (Zurich, 1878), 94.

a philosophical concept apprehended by the Erasmians, the vision of a moral reformation to the Anabaptists was a living faith prompted by an earnest intention to actualize in life and society the will of God.

6. The Anabaptists from their very origins taught and practiced nonresistance. This was derived from a radicalization of the ethic of love and from their peculiar concept of being a suffering church, living under the sign of the cross.[53] The former factor may have kinship with Erasmian thought, but the latter factor gave their nonresistance a quality of complete commitment which Erasmian pacifism never fully possessed.

7. The evangelical Anabaptists agreed with the Reformers on the actuality of original sin, but rejected their predestinarian views.[54] A concept of free will and individual moral and spiritual responsibility was implicit in the Anabaptist theology.[55] This voluntarism, however, was not predicated on a confident belief in man's independent and inherent moral authority. Christian freedom and faith were gifts of grace.[56] At this point the Anabaptists would seem to diverge from the more anthropocentric conceptions of the humanists regarding freedom of the will.

8. The Anabaptists taught explicitly that religious faith was not subject to external restraint or coercion.[57] A concern for freedom of conscience and religious association was implicit in their teaching. They recognized that Christians are to be found in other confessional groups as well as among the Anabaptists.[58] The Anabaptists, thus, were emerging with a theory of religious liberty—at first more implicit than explicit in articulation. Perhaps humanist thought is reflected in this Anabaptist concern for religious liberty.

9. The Anabaptists sought to place their movement in a universal historical context. They saw the incongruity between the primitive church and the historical church. Thus, they reflected the awakened historical mindedness of the times and especially of humanism. In their theology of history the Anabaptists conceived of the church as a suffering church: "History is the contest between the people of God and the powers of this world, a contest which

53 Walter Rauschenbusch (ed. and trans.), "The Zurich Anabaptists and Thomas Münzer," *American Journal of Theology,* IX (1905), 95.

54 Menno Simons, *Works, op. cit.,* II, 94.

55 Loserth, *Pilgram Marbecks Antwort . . . , op. cit.,* 145.

56 Menno Simons, *Works, op. cit.,* I, 158.

57 "Epistolae Grebelianae," *op. cit.,* 209-10.

58 Menno Simons, *Works, op. cit.,* II, 94; Loserth, *Antwort, op. cit.,* 391.

presses to a final decision through the sufferings of the martyrs."[59] Marpeck and Menno Simons made frequent appeals to history as a means of vindicating their position and demonstrating the marvelous manner of Divine Providence in the affairs of men. The Hutterian Brethren of Bohemia from their very beginning kept detailed chronicles of their communal life and relationships with the world. These chronicles were unlike the medieval type; they had an orderliness of exposition and a concern for recording events in concreteness of detail. Today these tremendous tomes of the Hutterites afford a wealth of source material on early Anabaptism. Amid persecution the Anabaptists composed hymns concerning their martyr heroes and preserved these hymns in collections for posterity. Similarly the stories of martyrdom were recorded and later assembled together with descriptions of the lives of martyrs throughout Christian history.[60] In such ways the Anabaptists sought to articulate their sense of historical continuity. This concern would seem to be in some measure related to the heightened historical-mindedness cultivated by humanism.

A concluding observation regarding the interrelationship of humanism and Anabaptism concerns geographical distribution. Anabaptism early found vigorous expression and popular response in Zurich, Basel, Bern, St. Gall, Strasbourg, Augsburg, and other cities of the Rhine and Danube valleys. These very cities were also flourishing centers of humanism. This correlation suggests that humanism may have prepared the soil for Anabaptism.

Humanism undoubtedly had a profound influence on the rise of the Anabaptist movement—not in specific ideas and doctrines so much as in methods and attitudes. The leaders of humanism, however, were oblivious to any responsibility they had in nurturing the soil of this heresy.[61] And yet, humanism, with its scholarly, dispassionate quality, can at best explain only in part the rise of Anabaptism. The two movements differed fundamentally on the approach to Christian knowledge. Whereas the humanists attributed power to intellectually apprehended truth, the Anabaptists minimized the role of reason in Christian faith and insisted that all that is required of the Christian is unqualified obedience to Scriptural norms. Humanism, further, seems strangely unrelated to that

[59] Ethelbert Stauffer, "Märtyrertheologie und Täuferbewegung," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* LII (1933), 560 and 562.

[60] Thieleman J. van Braght, *The Bloody Theatre or Martyrs' Mirror* (Elkhart, Indiana, 1886).

[61] J. Huizinga, *Erasmus* (Basel, 1936), 213.

contagious missionary zeal which gripped the Anabaptists and that exultant joy they displayed in the fires of martyrdom. Unlike the intellectually aristocratic quality of humanism, Anabaptism was unapologetically a movement of the people. Where the eye of the humanist was centered on man, the eye of the Anabaptist was centered on God. What is the end of man? To the humanist the end of man was to know himself. To the Anabaptist it was to do the will of God. The humanist was a scholar, the Anabaptist a disciple.

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Basel. The original home of many of these migrants and expellees was the Emmental. But few were left in the old home. In fact there were not enough to have regular meetings and a minister of their own during the middle decades of the eighteenth century. In the Palatinate, Holland, and America the Bernese culture was soon mixed with other cultures and lost much of its former character. Only in the Jura and Normanvillars areas did they retain the language and culture of their homeland. Here too the spiritual life of the Anabaptists reached heights closely paralleling their life in the early decades of the Reformation. This came after they found a degree of freedom but still remembered vividly the persecution that had gone before, still realizing that their position was very precarious. The century ended with a note of hope and fear combined in a new manner. The old intolerant governments that had long persecuted the Anabaptists were overthrown. But they were wary of revolutions bringing better conditions. Nor did they believe that cries of liberty and equality would bring about such conditions. According to their tenets they remained aloof from the political upheavals of the day and tried to adjust to changed conditions as their beliefs would permit. During the following century they found conditions little better. This caused more to leave for America.

THE HUTTERITE DOCTRINES OF CHURCH AND COMMON LIFE, A STUDY OF PETER RIEDEMANN'S CONFESSION OF FAITH OF 1540, II

FRANZ HEIMANN

VI. *Riedemann, Hubmaier and the Schleitheim Articles*

Riedemann's concept of the church as developed in the *Rechenschaft* is comparatively very simple; it is based on the idea of fellowship (*Gemeinschaft*) and is determined by the principle of purity. Actually Riedemann has two different concepts of the church: (A) the church as the "lantern of righteousness," which illuminates the world, and to which those who were gathered through the Holy Spirit draw near; (B) occasionally, however, the empirical community is identified as the embodiment of the spiritual church of Christ, and then Riedemann equates people, assembly, brotherhood (*Gemeinde*) and church. The claim of his brotherhood to belong to the church of Christ he derives not from any historical continuity with the original church, but bases it exclusively on spiritual grounds: to be in the church of Christ means to him the same as to be in the house of the Holy Spirit.

When Riedemann declares that Christ has given the power of the key to the church, "his bride, spouse, and consort," he thinks first of the abstract idea of the spiritual church whose essence is the radiating of eternal truth. But the church is also the empirical gathering which has power here on earth to forgive sins (chapter "Forgiveness of Sin"). The power of the key comprises two functions: the acceptance into the church by way of baptism, and the exclusion from the church by way of the ban. Since the decisive event of rebirth precedes baptism, the latter is considered a mere sign, the confirmation of an inner change, or as the brethren call it: the sealing up of the new covenant. I Peter 3:21. Just as this baptism has lost its former sacramental character, so also is the Lord's Supper but a sign of the already existing condition of the unity with Christ, and does not give anything new to man.

There is a general similarity between Riedemann's formulary, "How One Should Baptize" (79, 80), and the first of the *Seven Schleitheim Articles* of 1527.[1] This article declares that "baptism shall be given to those who have learned repentance and amendment of life, and who believe truly that their sins are taken away by

[1] *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XIX (1945) 248.

Christ, and who with this understanding request baptism of us, and demand it for themselves." When Riedemann, however, at the end of his formulary states that in baptism man's sins are left behind and forgiven (80), he introduces a certain sacramental element (*ein Heilsmoment*) into this ceremony which does not quite fit into the character of his other teachings. It seems that we meet here a somewhat external borrowing of an idea of Hubmaier.

Balthasar Hubmaier, who has a rather isolated position among the early sixteenth century teachers of adult baptism, strongly emphasizes that the sincere belonging to the church is a precondition of salvation, and he places the quasi-sacramental element of forgiveness of sins into the ceremony of baptism proper. Thus he tries to establish more effectively the need for baptism which to him is the very means for the building up of the Christian community or church.[2] From this follows that for Hubmaier the church assumes the character, at least formally, of an institution of salvation (*Heilsanstalt*), though at other places he stresses more the idea of "Fellowship of the Lord's Table" as the essence of his church concept. Though Riedemann seems to be influenced, to a certain extent, by these ideas, there can be no question that the Hutterite brotherhood would not adopt Hubmaier's concept of the church unchanged.

The remark of Johann Loserth,[3] that Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* closely follows the writings of Hubmaier, is by and large correct as far as the teachings of baptism, Lord's Supper and ban are concerned, even though in these points there is no literal identity. Hubmaier's influence upon the Anabaptists with regard to baptism and Lord's Supper is clearly recognized at one place of the Hutterite *Chronicle*. At the occasion of Hubmaier's martyrdom and death, the Chronicle writes:

> Two hymns are still in our brotherhood which this Balthasar Hubmaier composed. There are also other writings by him from which one learns how he had so forcefully argued the right baptism, and how infant baptism is altogether wrong, all this proved from the Holy Scriptures. Likewise he brought to light the truth of the Lord's Supper, and refuted the idolatrous sacrament and the great error and seduction by it.[4]

There exists a common Anabaptist understanding both in Riedemann and Hubmaier as far as they deal with the fallen state

[2] Wilhelm Mau, *Balthasar Hubmaier* (1912) *(Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte,* Heft 40), 160 f; Carl Sachsse, *Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe* (1914) *(Neue Studien z. Geschichte der Theologie,* II, Ser. 20), 185 f.

[3] Johann Loserth, *Der Communismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer,* 1894 *(Archiv für Österr. Geschichte,* v. LXXXI), 226.

[4] *Chronik,* ed. Zieglschmid, 52.

of man, the inner rebirth in faith, and the testimony of this faith in confession and life, presupposing the freedom of man to obey God's commandments. Beyond that also the teaching concerning the right sequence of preaching the Word, hearing, change of life, and baptism, seems to be derived from Hubmaier. Furthermore, Riedemann seemed to have borrowed from him almost in its entirety the polemic against infant baptism (70-77) with all its numerous arguments and reasons, in which polemic Hubmaier nearly exhausted his theological capacity. There is also a fairly complete agreement of the *Rechenschaft* with Hubmaier's teachings concerning the "Fellowship of the Lord's Table," whose inner communion must already be present prior to the breaking of the bread. Likewise we find already in Hubmaier the teaching of the Christian brotherhood or church (*Gemeinschaft*), which exercises inner discipline by brotherly punishment and the ban. It seems fairly apparent that Riedemann knew and used Hubmaier's tracts and books such as *Eine christliche Lehrtafel; Ein einfältiger Unterricht auf die Worte: das ist mein Leib, in dem Nachtmahl Christi; Eine Form zu taufen in Wasser; Eine Form des Nachtmahls Christi; Von der brüderlichen Strafe;* and *Vom christlichen Bann.*[5] Riedemann used these books primarily for his chapters "How One Should Baptize," "The Misuse of the Lord's Supper," "Concerning the Supper of Christ," "Concerning Exclusion," and "Concerning Readmission."

The closest contact between Riedemann and Hubmaier is to be found in the concern for the awakening of the Christian individual and for the brotherhood which in Anabaptist thought coincides with the church in general. In the center of Hubmaier's religious thinking stands the inwardly united "Fellowship of the Lord's Table," which breaks the bread as a sign of love and readiness for sacrifice.[6] The religious ideal of Riedemann, on the other hand, is more the spiritual fellowship of the body of Christ, or the Holy Church without spot or wrinkle, into which the individual who is longing for Christian fellowship is accepted by the right sequence of hearing the Word, believing, rebirth, and baptism. By this the church becomes a true "fellowship of committed disciples." In Riedemann's vision it is in the idea of discipleship of Christ that the unity of the Spirit takes on flesh and blood and becomes a true church.

[5] Extensive excerpts in Sachsse, *op. cit.*, 43 f. and 63 f.

[6] Balthasar Hubmaier, *Eine Form des Nachtmahles Chrissti* (Nikolsburg, 1527). The copy of the Nat. Libr. of Vienna was used; a reprint may also be found in *Mitteilungen aus dem Antiquariat S. Calvary & Co.* (Berlin, 1870) 118-130.

Concerning "brotherly punishment" and "Christian ban," Hubmaier sees in them the means to secure the purity of the "Fellowship of the Lord's Table." Riedemann would agree, but he sees the fellowship "of the children of God" much more concrete and wide, and he interprets the ban much more radically in view of the purity and sacredness of his community. In the *Rechenschaft* the doctrine of the fellowship of the Lord's Table is closely connected with the doctrine of separation from the world, in complete agreement with the Schleitheim Articles.[7] The latter require expressly in Article II, that the ban should be employed prior to the breaking of the bread, "so that we may break and eat one bread with one mind and in one love, and may drink of one cup." Likewise in Article IV, the complete separation of the children of God from the wickedness of this world is required.

The idea of an absolute contrast of the pure church of the children of God to the impure "world" is basic for the Hutterite brotherhood. From it all further characteristic traits derive, and upon these, it should be emphasized here, Hubmaier's ideas had no influence whatsoever. It was, we should remember, Jakob Hutter who took the step of organizing the final brotherhood and of establishing the way of life in complete communion of goods as the expression of brotherly love and self-surrender.

VII. *The Inner Organization of the Brotherhood*

The chapters in the *Rechenschaft* which deal with the inner organization of the Hutterite Brotherhood reflect the deep Christian spirit of its beginner Jakob Hutter. Through sanctification of life in fellowship and discipline, the church becomes a "living temple of God," and life in her assumes the character of true worship of God. Life and worship are not separated from each other. This remarkable penetration of the entire life with the spirit of devotion goes along with an outspoken reservedness regarding all things material. The spirit is to rule over them, and symbols emptied of their spiritual contents are to Hutter as unacceptable as later to Riedemann.

The chapter "Why God Created Man" (51-2) demonstrates the religious destiny of man. God gave man above all creatures reason, understanding, and sense, that he might know God and His will aright. For it is God's honour when the work of His hands remaineth in the condition in which He hath created and placed it,

[7] *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XIX (1945) 248 f.

and suffereth naught to move it therefrom. God created man a heavenly being, and hath given him a heavenly body, that it might lead the earthly body to God. The heavenly body should inspire and urge the earthly body to abide in the state in which God hath placed it, that is in seeking and doing what is of God.

God created man in His likeness, a glorious likeness that we should all rejoice over and desire. This likeness of God is not flesh and blood but spirit and the breath of God, which was given to man. The living soul is the true likeness or similitude of God. This likeness man should bear and show forth through all his life (53).

This spiritual uplift here demanded gives the brethren a common direction and the consciousness that, whatever they do, it ought to be a walking in the presence of God. The church, that is the living Brotherhood, has turned away altogether from the world. Christ is the only Lord to whom the members have committed themselves completely. Thus, the *Gemeinde* becomes a real "theocracy," a rule of God, which finds its external expression in the numerous and varied regulations (*Ordnungen*) laid down for the first time by Hutter himself and now reformulated by Peter Riedemann.

In the chapter "Concerning the Election of Ministers" (80 f.) the theocratic idea appears most clearly. If the church needeth one or more ministers, she must not elect them as pleaseth herself, but wait upon the Lord to see whom He chooseth and showeth them. Therefore they should continue in earnest prayer and petition to God that He might show them whom He hath chosen for His ministry. After continuing thus earnestly in prayer, those who have been recognized through God's council to be suitable are presented to all. If there be many of them we wait to see which one the Lord showeth us by lot. If, however, there be only one or just as many as are needed then we need no lot, for the Lord hath shown us him. Therefore we accept him or them in the fear of God as a gift and present from God. His appointment to the office is then confirmed before the church through the laying on of the elder's hands. None, however, is confirmed in his office except he have the testimony of a good life and walk.

The chapter "Concerning Marriage" (97-100) applies the theocratic idea to family relations. Marriage, according to Riedemann, is a union of two in which one taketh the other to care for, and the second submitteth to obey the first, and thus through their agreement two become one. But if this is to be done in a

godly way they must come together not through their own (subjective) action and choice but in accordance with God's will and order, and therefore must neither leave nor forsake the other, but suffer both ill and good together all their days. Riedemann distinguishes three grades or steps in marriage: first the "marriage of God with the soul" or spirit; second the "marriage of the spirit with the body"; and third the marriage of one body with another, or of man with a woman, which is the last and lowest grade, and is therefore visible, recognizable and understood by all. This marriage is but a picture, an instruction and an indication of what is invisible, that is of the middle and highest grades.

Now follows a patriarchical interpretation of the right relationship between man and wife, whereby the woman should submit to the husband and the latter should take care of the spiritual, moral and physical needs of the wife, in accordance with the order of the grades, in which the body should obey the spirit, and the spirit should obey God. Marriage must not come about through the will of the flesh or for the sake of beauty, youth, or money, but should be entered into upon God's counsel. After much prayer the young man should ask not his flesh but the elders that God might show him through them what He hath appointed for him, and should take this with real gratitude as a gift from God. Then marriage will be kept in the right way through all three grades, and man will walk with God.[8]

In the chapter "Concerning Adultery" (101-2) the same three steps or grades are considered but now in reverse order. If the husband preserve not his honor as the glory of God and go before his wife and guide her to blessedness, he hath already broken the marriage. If he breaketh it thus with his wife, he soon will sin in the next grade against his spirit, for he alloweth himself not to be ruled by it. If, however, his spirit is overcome and weakened by the flesh, he falleth in the third grade and breaketh his union with the Creator by whom he is led.

The chapter "Concerning the Education of Children" (130 f.) contains the outlines of a definitely Christian way of upbringing of children. The education of children is such, begins Riedemann, that we permit them not to carry out their headstrong will and carnal practice. Therefore we have schools in which we bring up our children in the divine discipline, teaching them from the beginning to know God. We permit them not to go to other

[8] The Hutterite custom of marriage is well described in the *Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder*, ed. Zieglschmid (Philadelphia, 1947), 2-5, 2-17, 284, 437.

schools since there they teach but the wisdom, art, and practices of the world, and are silent about things divine. And then Riedemann continues explaining how the child, after the mother has weaned it, is given into the care of a nursery where appointed women lay the word of God's testimony in their mouths as soon as the children can speak. At five or six they are entrusted to the schoolmaster who instructs them more and more in the knowledge of God. The children are taught from babyhood on to seek not what is temporal but what is eternal.

The chapter "Concerning Traders" (126-7) is particularly interesting as it reflects some economic ideas of the brethren. We allow none of our members, Riedemann explains, to do the work of a trader or merchant. As a proof text he quotes Ecclesiasticus (*Jesus Sirach*) 26:29 and 27:1-2. "It is almost impossible for a merchant and trader to keep himself from sin. As a nail sticketh fast between door and hinge, so doeth sin stick close between buying and selling." Therefore we permit this not amongst us, but say with Paul that they should labor, working with their hands what is honest that they may have to give to him that needeth.

In the same manner the brethren decline also the trades of sword making and clothes making, and also of being public innkeepers. The brethren do not want to participate in anything which leads to violence ("sword"), pride, ostentation and vanity ("clothes"), greed ("trading"), and intemperance ("inn keeping"). They stick to the word of James 1:27, "Pure and undefiled service of God is to keep unspotted from the world."

The remaining chapters (119-26, and 129-30) concerning "Greeting, Giving the Hand and Embracing, Prayer, Singing, Fasting, Celebrating, Coming Together," and finally "Concerning the Whole Life, Walk, Dress, and Adornment of Christians" (133-6) fit to the style of the book as a whole and show the penetration of the entire life with the spirit of committed disciples. The entire walk of a Christian consists in that he layeth aside all that maketh like the world and conformeth thereto, and that he giveth himself wholly to the practice of what is blessed. His adornment does not consist of external magnificence, but of a hidden jewel of the heart, the inward man, whose citizenship is in heaven. From the children of the world he learns how they adjust themselves to the customs of the land. In the same way Christians should give heed to and regard the ways of their land, into which they are led by Christ. Thus in accordance with this heavenly land they

should adorn themselves to the uttermost to please Him who dwells in heaven. Thus all their desire and effort, all their care and consideration, should be that they may receive from God this heavenly adornment (135; this concludes the first and more important part of the *Rechenschaft*).

VIII. *The Teaching of Community of Goods and of Nonresistance*

The chapters to be discussed in the following pages concern those traits of the Hutterite Brotherhood which have basically distinguished it from all other Anabaptist groups. They deal with the relationship of a Christian and his church to the conditions and orders of the world which surround him. They, too, have their Scriptural roots and are based on the idea of absolute nonconformity.

In the chapter "Concerning Community of Goods" (88-91) Riedemann develops the idea of the Christian equality of man, that is the equality in the love of God and in Christ. In the fellowship of the saints, which is the body of Christ, there exists unity in all things. No member hath anything for himself, but all have all things in common, since all gifts of God, not only spiritual but also material, are not given to one member alone but to the whole body. Therefore, the communion of saints must show itself not only in spiritual but also in temporal things, so that, as Paul says in II Corinthians 8:7-15, "One might not have abundance and another suffer want," but that there may be equality.

Riedemann now develops the idea of the original equality of man prior to the Fall (*Urstand*). In this condition man's nature was yet uncorrupted, knowing no violence, no power, no human law, and no private property. These thoughts then (obviously rooted in the idea of the absolute "natural law") form the background for the teaching of community of goods in Riedemann's system. From the beginning God ordained naught private for man, but all things to be common. But through wrong taking (since man took what he should not, and forsook what he should take, according to Genesis 3), he drew such things to himself and made them his private property. Hardened therein, he hath been led so far from God that he hath even forgotten the Creator, and stepped out of God's order and forsook it. That the creation was not made for man's private possession is shown also in that man must forsake all created things when he dies, and can carry nothing with him.

Now follows the argument of true discipleship with its corollary, nonconformity to this world. Since all things temporal are "foreign" to our true nature, we should not set our heart upon them. Whosoever will cleave to the Christ, and follow Him, must forsake such taking of created things and property. As Christ Himself also saith, "Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple" (Luke 14:33), and "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, *he shall not enter therein*" (Mark 10:15) (89). The Christian thus becomes inwardly free from created things which but lead him away from God. Hence he does not turn his heart toward them and takes hold of the Divine as that property which can never be lost. The community of Christ is shown in that one does not cleave to created things as one's own but keeps them in common. The more a man hangs his heart on created things and makes them his property, the farther he moves away from God's likeness and from the community of Christ.

The chapter closes with a reference to the apostolic example. The Holy Spirit began such community (at the beginning of the church) right gloriously again, so that none said that aught of the things that he possessed was his own but they had all things in common. Acts 2. The apostles and the first church had the zeal of a true community, as Paul reports of the church in Macedonia. II Cor. 8:1-5. Riedemann takes his Scriptural argument in this chapter primarily from Paul's epistles to the Philippians (2:2-4) and I Corinthians 12:12-27 (of the body and its members), and from Acts (ch. 2 and 4). The idea of paradisical equality he takes from Genesis 1 and 3. It should be emphasized, however, that the Scriptural arguments for community of goods refer exclusively to the common consumption of temporal goods. There is no reference in the Scriptures concerning a common production of goods and a large scale collective economy—just those things by which the Hutterite Brotherhood had been able to make itself comparatively independent and permanent.

In the chapters "Concerning Governmental Authority" (102 f.) and "Why Governmental Authority Hath Been Ordained" (104 f.) Riedemann describes the character of worldly authority, applying the Old Testament idea of the people which turned away from God and was punished for that. Gen. 6 and 9; I Sam. 8; Isa. 3 and 10. Governmental authority was appointed and ordained by God as a "rod of his anger" for the discipline and punishment of a wicked and profligate nation. Because this people left God and fol-

lowed the flesh, they must suffer to be governed by temporal powers. The authorities which were appointed by God do not derive their power from grace but from disfavor (104). Therefore the government is a picture, sign, and reminder of man's departure from God, and ought well to be to all men an urge to retire within themselves and to consider to what they have come, that they might with all the more haste turn back to God to receive again the grace they had lost. The existence of governmental authority indicates that God's anger and wrath is still over sinners and is not at an end (105).

Governmental authority is appointed by God that the whole earth might not on account of man's wickedness become blemished and unclean. Therefore one should be obedient and subject to rulers as ordained by God for the purpose of protection, insofar as they do not attack the conscience or command that which is against God. (The Scriptural references to this are: I Peter 2:13-17, Romans 13:1-7, Titus 3:1.) When, however, the rulers command an act against God there one must leave their command undone, and "obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29) (103).

The office of government is an ordinance and establishment of God, and therefore within its own limits it is right and good. But where it is abused this same misuse is wrong. The office, nevertheless, remaineth as it was ordained, and is to be honored. Even though godless men fill it, the office is not thereby annulled. God permits this to the godless for the greater punishment of the people. Isa. 3:4-12.

Most significant for the radical Christian thinking of the Anabaptists is the next chapter "Whether Rulers Can Also Be Christians" (105-8). In Christ the old kingdom and reign came to an end, and a new one began. Riedemann quotes here Genesis 49:10, "The sceptre shall not depart until the hero (that is Christ) shall come." While the old Jewish regime was carried on with the temporal sword, the new regime, that is not like the old one, rules with the spiritual sword. That the power of the temporal sword was taken from the Jews and hath passed to the heathen, signifieth that from henceforth the people of God ought no longer to use the temporal sword, but ought to be ruled and led by the Spirit of Christ alone. That it hath gone to the heathen signifieth also that those who do not submit themselves to the Spirit of Christ (the heathen and unbelievers) should be disciplined and punished therewith.

God in Christ alone is King and Commander of His people. Christ is King of all kings, and at the same time the opposite of all the rulers of this world. Therefore does He say, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight for me." And again, "The princes of the world are called gracious lords, and the powerful exercise dominion over the people. But it shall not be so among you, rather let him who is the greatest among you be your minister." (Matt. 20:25-28).

Whatsoever was given in wrath must come to an end in Christ. Governmental authority was given in wrath (Hos. 13:11, I Sam. 8), and so it can neither fit itself into nor belong to Christ (107). Thus no Christian is a ruler, and no ruler is a Christian, for the child of blessing cannot be the servant of wrath. To the objection that government is necessary because of evil men, Riedemann replies bluntly: This we have already answered in saying that the power of the sword hath passed to the heathen that they may therewith punish their evil doers. But this is no concern of ours, as Paul says, *"What have I to do to judge them . . . that are without?"* (I Cor. 5:12). Thus no Christian can rule over the world. The way to life, that is to Christ, Riedemann concludes, is as open to governmental authorities as to anybody else if they only would divest themselves of their glory and would humble themselves with Christ (107).

The chapter "Concerning Taxation" (109-11) belongs organically to the afore-discussed chapters concerning temporal authority. Since the latter is ordained by God and has its office from Him, the payment of taxes for this purpose is likewise ordained and commanded. The Scriptural references are Romans 13:1-7 and Matthew 22:15-21. A distinction must be made, however, between the divinely ordained yearly taxes and those demanded for war purpose and the shedding of blood. When such taxes are ordered, we give nothing, Riedemann unequivocally declares. This we do neither out of malice nor obstinacy but in the fear of God that we make not ourselves partakers of other men's sins. What God hath not ordained, that is what is not a regular taxation, that is given not as a duty and as a ruler's due but rather because one agrees thereto, or in most cases because one is pressed and coerced to do so. When Christ commanded to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, He was speaking of the yearly taxation. Since at that time there was neither war nor rumors of war, money was not gathered for this purpose. For all these reasons we also have no objections but willingly pay such

taxes. Where, however, our conscience is violated there we both must and desire to obey God rather than man.

The chapter "Whether a Christian Can Go to Court or Sit in Judgment" (112-14) centers around the demand of Christ not to resist evil, and the refusal of Paul "to judge them that are without." Since all things temporal are "foreign" to us, and naught is our own, a Christian can neither strive, quarrel, nor go to court on their account. On the contrary, as one whose heart is turned from the world and set upon what is divine, he should rather suffer wrong. All litigation and all sitting in judgment has been done away with among Christians.

The reason why the Christian must not judge those "who are without" (I Cor. 5:12) is that they have not subjected themselves to the Spirit of God, and therefore should not be judged by means of the same. The church of God is not concerned about temporal things for the sake of which those "that are without" are in the habit of quarreling; therefore God has not given His Spirit to be a judge of such things.

The chapter closes with two references to the Gospel: Luke 12:13, 14, "I have not been sent by God to judge such matters," and Matt. 5:40, 41, "If any man will sue thee at the court and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also," as though he would say, "sooner let him take all than quarrel with him over it, and go to a court which is foreign to thy nature."

The chapter "Concerning Swearing" (114-18) is directed against the taking of an oath. Riedemann begins with the distinction between the two Testaments. While swearing was commanded in the Old Testament (Deut. 10:20), the New Testament expressly prohibits it. In the Old Testament swearing by God's name meant naught else than to prove that God must testify, confirm, and bring to pass everything in His people. In the New Testament, however, where sonship is separated from bondage, and the light of divine grace has appeared and been revealed more brightly in Christ, the shadow and with it the outward appearance, swearing, must give way and cease and let the Spirit of Truth Himself testify in us and give proof of His working. Moreover, Christ has expressly forbidden us to swear (Matt. 5:34): one is not to swear either by the creation which is less than God, nor by God who is much higher and greater. In short, we should not swear at all that we encroach not upon God's honor and glory.

The chapter "Concerning Warfare" (108-9) deals with a subject which is most central in all Anabaptist thinking, the refusal to

use the sword and the affirmation of the nonresistant position. Riedemann's proof texts are Matt. 5:38, 39 ("do not resist evil"), Rom. 12:14-21 ("avenge not yourselves"), and Heb. 10:30 (Vengeance belongeth unto me, . . . saith the Lord"), also Matt. 26:52 ("Put up again thy sword into its place"). The kingdom of Christ is a kingdom of peace in which all worldly warfaring ends according to the prophecy of Isaiah 2, namely that the sword will be beaten into ploughshares, etc. Therefore a Christian neither wages war nor wields the worldly sword to practice vengeance. Since we are Christ's disciples, we must show forth the nature of Him who repaid no evil with evil. Riedemann closes this paragraph with the quotation Matt. 16:24, 25, "Whosoever will be my disciple let him take his cross upon him and follow me." From Matthew 5, it is clearly to be seen that one ought neither to avenge oneself nor to go to war, but rather offer his back to the strikers, and his cheek to them that pluck off the hair; that is, one should suffer with patience and wait upon God who is righteous and who will repay it.

IX. *Summary and Conclusions*

Through the presentation of excerpts from Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* in the previous chapters it has now become possible to get a general picture of his doctrinal and socio-political ideas. In their totality they provide us with a picture of the spiritual world of the Hutterite Brotherhood, and show a great amount of inner unity and consistency, giving both strength and vitality to this Brotherhood.

In order to arrive at a better appraisal of the ideas of Riedemann, it might be advantageous to avail ourselves of two concepts which Ernst Troeltsch developed in his well-known work, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (German, 1912, English, New York, 1931). In this work Troeltsch contrasts two types of church bodies, for which he chose the terms *Kirche* and *Sekte* (English ed., 331 ff.), and which might best be translated by "institutional church" and "gathered church." Both types derive their justification from the New Testament and represent its two typical sociological expressions. The institutional church is characterized by its claim to possess special graces: in the Catholic Church the sacraments, and in the Lutheran Church the redeeming power of the Word of God. This objective foundation of the institutional church implies that the possession of graces is independent of the individuals who form the congregations. Therefore the personal achievements of the individuals, who are so to speak born into the

church (hence infant baptism), have but secondary significance. Therefore, the high ethical demands of the Gospel with all its radicalism are not required in such a church. It is easy for it to compromise with the world and to offer its treasures of grace to everybody. The ethics of the institutional church will always be a compromise: in the Catholic Church it is the double standard theory, one for the secular state and another one for the regular clergy (monks), and in the Lutheran Church it is the distinction between personal ethics and the ethics of office (*Amtsethik*). According to this distinction, the same person should obey in his personal relationships the evangelical counsels of the Sermon on the Mount, and in the administration of his office should use violence for the punishment of the wicked and for the protection of the good.

The main character of the *Sekte* or gathered church, on the other hand, is its voluntary nature. Essentially it is a brotherhood or *Gemeinde;* its members are held together not by virtue of a common possession of special graces, but by the immediate and personal fellowship into which the individuals enter in order to fulfil their ethical and spiritual purpose. Into a "sect" one is not born but one joins it on the basis of an inner conversion and an existential decision. Therefore everything depends upon the personal conduct, and the brotherhood proves itself and exists only by the ever renewed moral effort of its members. Here compromises between the commandments of Christ and the requirements of the life in this world are declined; the sect knows only the absolute antagonism of these two realms and allows no bridging-over by means of, say, the teachings of the "relative natural law" in man's state of sin. The sect assumes a declining attitude towards the world, and requires a dedication to a life outlined in the Scriptures and the primitive church. It is quite obvious that a church of this kind will always remain comparatively small, and the scope of her efficiency and acceptance will always remain restricted.

In the following the ideas of Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* will be briefly summarized and their relation to the above-discussed concepts studied.

As was discussed in section VI, the idea of a general, timeless and abstract "Church of Christ" (characterized by Riedemann as possessing the shining Truth, the "lantern of righteousness") is secondary to the interest in the concrete and real brotherhood here and now. In the center of the *Rechenschaft* stands the teaching (1) of the inner Fellowship of the Lord's Table (*Abendmahlsgemeinde*), brought about by the Spirit of Christ, and (2) the ex-

ternal establishment of community of goods born out of Christian love. These two forms of community (*Gemeinschaft*) belong together and cannot be separated. Together with brotherly punishment and ban, they constitute the community of saints or "the church without spot or wrinkle."

This church stands in absolute opposition to the world both internally and externally. The brethren, whom Riedemann calls "the people of God," have nothing in common with the world at large, the impure assembly of the children of sin or the kingdom of the great enemy. From this kingdom one is redeemed but by the miracle of rebirth and the covenant of baptism. In the assembly of the children of God, which embodies the "living temple of God," every external cult is rejected as meaningless (chapter "Concerning the Temple and That We Go Not Therein," 93-5). The entire life is dedicated to pure discipleship. Through ceaseless striving after that which is divine the brethren are joined together in this common goal, and by this come into a most intimate contact with each other. Thus all areas of life become sanctified and transfigured, such as marriage, upbringing of children, and labor. The brotherhood lives, so to speak, in the "heavenly citizenship" in the land into which Christ has led her. Christ is the immediate Lord of this church who elects her ministers, who blesses their marriages, and whose Spirit guides and directs the whole body. Riedemann's vision thus corresponds completely to the idea of the sect. The world was and still is in darkness, while only the community of the saints is illuminated by the newly emanated light of divine grace.

The basic law of this church, which has separated from sin, is the law of Christ. Externally the foundation of this radically new beginning is the community of goods. According to Riedemann this community of goods roots in two Christian principles: (a) the commandment of love which urges the Christian "to prove the spiritual also in the things temporal," a principle completely realized in the primitive apostolic church, and (b) the equality of the primitive state (*Urstand*) of man, as originally intended by God, in which there is no private property, but everything belongs to all. It is by this reference to the original equality that the actual "communism of love" of the apostolic church becomes a fundamentally required "community of goods" into which the individual member has to fit in. The community of goods is demanded, "for the Lord now giveth us both time and cause to do so" (90).

The ethical principles in Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* are likewise of a strictly sect nature. In the center stands the commandment

of Christ not to resist evil, and the demand to take up his cross and to follow Him (chapter "Concerning Warfare," 108 f.). From this Riedemann draws a simple conclusion: since the kingdom of Christ is a realm of peace, no Christian must practice vengeance; he must not wield the sword nor wage war nor pay taxes for war. Since all temporal things are "foreign" to a Christian he can neither strive, quarrel nor go to court on their account. Rather he should suffer to be wronged. It is obvious that from a standpoint like this no road leads to state and worldly orders. Riedemann, however, recognizes the divine ordination of governmental authorities and the necessity of an order for a world fallen into sin. In these governmental authorities he sees tools in the hands of God through which further spreading of sin is prevented. This recognition, however, is but a relative one. From its divine ordination Riedemann derives the duty of obedience to the government, in particular the paying of taxes. Of course the kingdom of Christ is incompatible with the kingdom of this world; a Christian should not be concerned about this world, should not accept offices, and should not sit in judgment in courts. The quarrel of those "who are outside" is not his concern. The authorities which enforce the order in this world and which prevent all wickedness from spreading over the world, are left to themselves. There is, at the bottom, more contempt in this recognition of government than genuine confidence in its divine instrumentality.

Throughout Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* we recognize the characteristic traits of the sect (as Troeltsch defines it). To realize the pure law of Christ, and to put into practice the equalitarian idea of the "absolute Natural Law," a sect has basically three possibilities:

(a) *separation* from the world and realization of the ideal in a "suffering church," that is in a small brotherhood which conscientiously keeps the laws of God, even under persecution;

(b) peaceful and orderly *reforms* through which the actual conditions may gradually converge towards the ideal;

(c) open *rebellion* (of the Hussite-Taborite type), with a strong social and democratic undercurrent, which rebellion is directed against the unnatural and ungodly conditions in state and society, and which does not shrink from violence if need be.

There can be no question that it was the first way, that of a suffering church, which was chosen by the Hutterite Brotherhood. It was, to be sure, the way of all "evangelical" Anabaptists.

Our analysis of the *Rechenschaft* has almost reached its conclusion. Only one more task remains to be done: a consideration of the possible background of this work. In section VI the opinion of Johann Loserth was quoted that Riedemann was more or less dependent upon Hubmaier, and it has been one of the purposes of the present study to find out how far such a contention is correct and verifiable. To this end a distinction had to be made in the *Rechenschaft* between the strictly doctrinal teachings concerning Baptism and Lord's Supper on the one side, and the more practical teachings concerning organization and ethical standards of the Brotherhood on the other side. The *Rechenschaft* is, after all, more than a mere "confession of faith"; it is, as the title reads, "an account of our religion," a *Verantwortung*. In the section dealing with the two main ordinances, referred to above, a closer dependance upon Hubmaier could actually be traced; we should not forget, however, that it is common teaching among all Anabaptists. Quite different is the situation with regard to the two great pillars of the concrete Brotherhood in Moravia, namely nonresistance and community of goods. Do also they have their foundation in Hubmaier's teaching, or where else lies their origin and background?

It can definitely be stated that Hubmaier's influence ends with the above-mentioned two articles, baptism and Lord's Supper. In Riedemann's teachings concerning "the sword" and community of goods, the difference becomes quite apparent.

With regard to the first issue ("sword") we may well compare parts of the *Rechenschaft* with Hubmaier's tract *Vom Schwert,* published in Nikolsburg, Moravia, in 1527.[9] Although preceding Riedemann's book by thirteen years, the tract nevertheless gives almost the impression of a rejoinder to the respective chapters of the *Rechenschaft*. With great theological skill Hubmaier interprets the same Scriptural texts which also Riedemann used, but the conclusions are different. Of course both agree in the recognition of the divine ordination of governmental authorities and in the obligation of a Christian to obey them in all rightful matters. But then their ideas diverge. For Riedemann the law of Christ is paramount, and therefore the opposition to this world is basic. There can be no thought of any active participation with the order of this sinful world, the state. For Hubmaier, on the other hand, there exist such possibilities. He sees the Christian helpless in the "kingdom of sin, death and hell, the kingdom of this world," and he sees

[9] Reprinted in H. C. Vedder, *Balthasar Hubmaier* (New York, 1905), 275-310.

in the authorities the instrument of God to protect the innocent and to punish the wicked. He knows, to be sure, that a Christian should rather suffer wrong than seek his own right, but he considers it the duty of the authorities to protect the good even without being asked for it. He reads the Scriptures in such a way that he always finds a strong emphasis in them upon the protective function of the government, and he claims that for that reason the Scriptures demand of a Christian the support of such a government, if necessary even with the sword. Riedemann, on the other hand, leaves the kingdom of sin and the government, which exists in it, quite to itself. No earnest Christian should have any dealings with it.

As in the teachings concerning the sword, so also in the teachings concerning the community of goods the *Rechenschaft* stands in clear opposition to the respective remarks of Hubmaier. Wilhelm Mau[10] identified the ideas of Hubmaier as a "communism of love" (as Troeltsch defines it) which knows no equalitarian ideal but only takes care of the needy in the church by way of charity. Clearly distinguished from this type of charitative communism is the Hutterite idea of complete community of goods, which wants to change basically the existing social and economic order and to carry the principle of equality as it exists in the religious realm also into that of material life. Thus are the demands of love and spirit which know no distinction between the two realms. In this regard the Hutterites went their own way, and definitely rejected Hubmaier's compromises.

Most of the ideas of the *Rechenschaft* discussed here go actually back to the very beginning of Anabaptism in Moravia, represented by the so-called *Stäbler* of Nikolsburg. In fact, the idea of nonresistance is basic to all "evangelical" Anabaptists, as can best be seen in the *Seven Articles* of Schleitheim of 1527. In this earliest Anabaptist confession of faith we read about the "sword" as follows:

> *Sixth:* The sword is ordained of God *outside the perfection of Christ.* It punishes and puts to death the wicked, and guards and protects the good. In the Law (i.e., the Old Testament) the sword was ordained for the punishment of the wicked and for their death; the same sword is now ordained to be used by the worldly magistrates. In the perfection of Christ, however (i.e., the New Testament), only the ban is used for a warning and for

[10] Mau, *op. cit.*, 169 f.

> the excommunication of the one who has sinned, without putting the flesh to death—simply the warning and the command to sin no more.[11]

The conclusions of the Schleitheim articles are the same as those of the *Rechenschaft:* in the kingdom of Christ there can be no sword, no governmental authority and no going to court.

The teachings concerning community of goods, finally, are found neither in the Schleitheim articles nor in any Anabaptist teachings outside the Hutterite Brotherhood. They are the specific contribution of the Hutterites who trace it back to the New Testament commandment of love, and to the apostolic example, even though the latter intended only an emergency communism of consumption and not also one of production.

In general it can be said that the teachings of Hubmaier concerning baptism and Lord's Supper are reflected in the *Rechenschaft* of Riedemann; in fact, they represent teachings espoused by practically all evangelical Anabaptists. Beyond that, however, Hubmaier had no tangible influence upon Riedemann's thinking. With the arrival of Jakob Hutter in Moravia, late in 1529, the time of compromises had come to an end, and the spirit of strict and committed discipleship, the "narrow path," became dominant. The Hutterite Brotherhood was the result of these internal struggles for the right pattern of a genuine Christian fellowship (*Gemeinde*). That it was of a sect nature was a matter of course. Nonconforming to the world and strictly organized on the principle of community of goods, this Brotherhood tried to realize the high ideals of Anabaptist life. The perfect expression of this Christian vision, its motives and its aims, however, is Riedemann's *Rechenschaft.*

[11] *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XIX (1945), 250.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

A Communication on the Relation of Franconia and Lancaster Mennonites in Colonial Pennsylvania

The Editor

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

I have been a reader of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for a number of years and what has struck me most forcibly has been the high quality of the articles and the amount of original research which has been reflected in its contents. However, it seems to me that there are yet a great number of fields to be explored, and one which should provide one of your many talented contributors with a subject worthy of his best efforts is a study into the ties, or more accurately, the lack of ties, in the 18th Century between the two oldest and most important Mennonite settlements in America. I refer to those made in the general region known as Franconia on the one hand and Conestoga or Lancaster on the other.

To pin-point the problem more definitely, one has only to quote from the letter written from Skippack, Philadelphia County, to Holland in 1773, to show that Skippack had only the most meagre information about Lancaster, since it is stated as follows: "Of Canestogis and the surrounding places, we will only give a few preachers and their names, and in course of time will endeavour to prepare a more circumstantial account."

It has been stated that the great distances and the difficulty of travel was the prime reason for the lack of information and apparent lack of communication. But was this the reason? Philadelphia was the location of the Provincial Land Office and there it was that all land titles were issued. It was necessary to go there for the warrant, the patent, and to make payments on land purchases, sometimes extending over years. The Land Office, in pursuance to its duties, kept books showing income and outgo, which were called Day Books. In these Day Books, there were entries of payments, by whom and for what. Even a cursory study of these records shows there were a never-ending stream of visitors from "Canestogis" to Philadelphia, making payments on land, and that in many cases, their visits coincided in time at least with those made by land purchasers from Skippack and adjoining regions.

To cite but one example, taking the date of February 20, 1738-39, we find the following entries in the Land Office Day Book:

"Andrew Frey, Hempfield
"Christ. Stoupher, 118 acres, Salford Twp.
"Philip Null, Hempfield
"David Musselman, Hempfield
"Jacob Heighstand, Hempfield
"Henry Musselman, 103 acres, Little Conestoga
"Joseph Kratsaw, Conestoga
"Ulrich Rode, Lebanon and Hempfield
"Christian Wyland, Warwick
"Rudy Herr, Conestoga Manor
(And below these names we find)
"Cash, February 20

"Andrew Frey, received of him	8 pounds
"Philip Null, by H. Musselman	5
"David Musselman, by him	10/17
"Jacob Heistand, by D. Musselman	10
"Jos. Kratsaw, by Mich. Baughman	10

"Ulrich Rode, rec. by M. B.	8
"Michael Moyer, rec. of him	40/2
"Rudy Herr, rec. of him	28/2
"Hans Boughs, Cocalico, by M. B.	19/13
"David Martin, by him	13/6/6
"Christ. Longanacre, of him	24 "

Thus on this particular date, February 20, 1739, we know that Andrew Frey, Henry Musselman, David Musselman, Michael Bachman, Michael Myer, Rudy Herr, David Martin, and Christian Longenecker all visited the Land Office and were in Philadelphia. Each represented a different section of Lancaster County. Frey, Musselmans, and Bachman resided northwest of Lancaster; Myer at Lancaster, Herr in the Manor near present-day Millersville, David Martin at Weaverland, and Longanecker northwest of present-day Manheim. On February 19, the previous day, and on February 21, the following day of 1739, some of the same names re-appear so that we know these individuals spent more than one day in Philadelphia.

From this we know that there was opportunity, repeated again and again, through the years, for the two communities to become acquainted with each other, yet the fact remains that little was known in either community of the other. And yet we know from another reference in the 1773 letter to Holland that many of the individuals in the two areas had come to America together, and had a common ancestry, history and background, for the letter states that in "the year 1717, many more of our fellow believers came to us from Germany, among whom were some preachers or ministers of the Lord. to-wit: Bens Brechbiel, Johannes Borchhalter, Valentine Klemmer, and others who had been confirmed as ministers."

From the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania,* we learn that on September 9, 1717, three ship captains reported to the Provincial Council that they had brought to Pennsylvania from Holland 363 persons. Each of the captains submitted a list of his passengers but unfortunately the whereabouts of these lists is unknown. It is evident that these 363 immigrants divided, some settling in Skippack and some in Conestoga. That they were Mennonites cannot be disputed since their number and time of arrival coincides with the information we have of the organization of this migration, with the aid of the Holland Mennonites, from the region of Mannheim in the Palatinate. In fact, the same leaders are mentioned.

What then was the cause of the all too apparent cutting off of communications between the two settlements? Was there some divergence in religious belief or conduct responsible? It may be impossible to determine whether this is so, but there is some hint that it might have been over the question of land and land ownership. In November of 1717, there appeared before the Property Commissioners in Philadelphia, Martin Kendig, Hans Herr, and Hans Funk, with several of the newly arrived immigrants to inquire about land. Kendig, Herr, and Funk all resided in Conestoga, having come to Pennsylvania seven years earlier. They appeared in behalf of the new immigrants whom they identified as "their relatives, friends, or acquaintances." A blanket warrant calling for the survey of 5,000 acres of land in places to be selected by the warrantees was issued by the Commissioners to Kendig and Herr. At the same time, the warning was given that since the immigrants were aliens, they could not sell the land nor could their children inherit it as long as they remained unnaturalized.

The same year, Isaac Taylor, to whom the warrant was presented for execution, began laying out land under this warrant and other warrants issued to individuals. He wrote to James Logan as follows in a report on this:

"I returned from Conestoga last seventh day night. I met with a great deal of trouble before I could bring the long bearded Switzers under any manner of regular measures but after a great deal of time spent and some measures I took to inform them how I would survey the land in that place to them and all other people and if they would not come under these regulations, they should have no land if I went on and executed all the warrants that came to my hands, and satisfied them very well. Only two persons that came just as I came away. I proffered them to stay and serve them but they desired time to view the lands up the creeks. I have surveyed the Manor (for the Indians) from the mouth of the Conestoga up the Susquehanna to near Martin Chartier's fence and then east by north six miles to the little Conestoga then to the grant of J. Cartlidge. The Indians are very well pleased."

Thus from the very start, there were established well-founded fears that newly acquired and newly improved lands might be lost. There was the case of one immigrant, Henry Wenger by name, who improved a farm only to die, after which his widow and family lost all title to a Quaker who got a formal title to the land.

It should only be natural, therefore, that there should be a desire to attain British citizenship as promptly as possible, and the records show that such a petition was presented by quite a few of the new residents of Conestoga in 1724, but action was held up on it for one reason or another until 1729. An examination of the list of persons naturalized in 1729 shows that they were all residents of Conestoga and 90 per cent were of Mennonite origin, if not Mennonites themselves.

Yet, it is a curious fact that many of the most prominent or best known among the pioneers are missing. For example, five men from Conestoga signed the English version of the Dortrecht Confession which was published in 1727, but none of these individuals were naturalized in 1729, with the exception of one, Hans Burkholder. The Conestoga signers of the Confession were in addition to Burkholder, Benedict Hirchi, Christian Heer, Martin Bear, and Johannes Bowman. All owned land in 1729 and all had arrived in America prior to 1718—the naturalized persons were identified as persons who had come to Pennsylvania between 1700 and 1718.

One of the requirements for naturalization was that the alien applicant take an oath in which he renounced allegiance to his former rulers and pledged support to the British crown. In 1729 the only persons exempted from taking this oath were Quakers; it was not until some years later that Mennonites and similar groups also were permitted by law to affirm instead of swear.

If there was a similar petition for naturalization on the part of alien Mennonites resident in Skippack in this same general period, I have missed it.

Was there then a division of opinion on this question? Was the agitation for naturalization one of the reasons which brought about the publication of the Dortrecht Confession which included the prohibition against the swearing of oaths? I believe that here might be one fundamental difference of opinion between the Mennonites at Lancaster and those at Skippack.

(Concluded on page 168)

Account of our Religion, Doctrine and Faith, given by Peter Riedeman of the Brothers whom men call Hutterians. London: Hodder & Stoughton, in conjunction with the Plough Publishing House (Society of Brothers, Bromdon, Bridgnorth, England), 1950. Pp. 283. $3.00.

The *Mennonite Quarterly Review* has just finished publishing a lengthy study of the Hutterite doctrines of the church and the common life, based on the text of the book under review. This study shows how much insight can be gained by going back to original Anabaptist sources proper. In fact, without them no understanding of this great movement is possible. But this material is rare and mostly hidden at remote places. The "Beck collection" in Brno, Czechoslovakia *(Menn. Quart. Rev., 1949, 105 ff.),* is one such place still too little used for our purpose. But its material is nearly all handwritten and therefore not easily available. Printed sources of Anabaptist thought are extremely rare: we have Menno Simons' and Dirk Philips' books (a new Menno Simons translation into English is still waiting its publication), we have Pilgram Marpeck's voluminous writing not much exploited as yet for its bulkiness and difficult style, and we have, above all, Peter Riedemann's great *Rechenschaft unseres Glaubens,* of 1540, besides the Hutterite *Chronicle* perhaps the most outstanding printed source of South German and Austrian Anabaptism. Its text, to be true, has been available in printed form for a long time though it was always hard to get: in 1870, it was published in an obscure magazine, *Mittheilungen aus dem Antiquariate S. Calvary, Berlin;* then in 1902, the Hutterite Brethren in South Dakota had it printed at Scottdale, Pa., though in a rather incomplete edition; then, in 1938, the Cotswold Bruderhof, the settlement of the New Hutterites in England, brought out a new German edition, very well done, completely and carefully printed; but again only a few outsiders could ever get hold of this rare book. Now, for the first time, a complete and most competent English translation is presented to all interested circles, and without doubt it will exert a wholesome influence upon the study of Anabaptist thought and genius.

The story of this book is interesting in itself. Peter Riedemann (1505-1556) was born in Silesia, and seems to have joined rather early (around 1530) the Moravian brotherhood, then under the leadership of Jakob Hutter. He soon became one of the truly spiritual leaders of this group, representing the highest level of genuine Anabaptism. As a co-bishop or shepherd of the group, he was sent on a missionary assignment to the county of Hesse in 1540. Here he was imprisoned and kept in jail for some years; he used his involuntary leisure time to draw up a "Confession of Faith" together with a collection of ordinances or regulations concerning the life of the brotherhood, calling this work a *Rechenschaft* (or account), according to I Peter 3:15. It is not quite certain whether this work was actually printed around 1545 or not, no copy of that time is known though certain hints make it likely. In 1565, a "reprint" was accomplished by the Brethren (the printing place is unknown) of which edition not more than five copies have been preserved. They are to be found (1) in the British Museum (where the brethren used it for the new English edition); (2) at the University of Chicago (used for the 1902 edition); (3) at the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (whence it came from the S. Calvary book store); (4) at the Landesmuseum of Brno,

Czechoslovakia; and (5) one copy exists at the Rockport-Bruderhof, South Dakota (of which the first eight leaves are missing). There exists also one handwritten copy at the Primatial library of Esztergom, Hungary, of 1614 (Beck's codex no. XVIII). It is quite obvious that only very few scholars could ever take hold of any of these copies or reprints, and even then, the sixteenth century German of the work has been no small stumbling block.

Now for the first time we have this splendid English edition available, a work which cannot be praised highly enough for its thoroughness and reliability. The translation (or rather rendering) was prepared by Miss Kathleen E. Hasenberg, M.A., together with a staff of the (New Hutterite) brotherhood both in England and Paraguay. It was no doubt a tedious job, and much effort and toil must have gone toward its completion. Now, no scholar may use the excuse of unavailable sources, and no major library should fail to provide itself with a copy.

The book is divided into two uneven parts: the first and more important one (pp. 9-136) contains the "Credo" and a great number of articles of doctrinal and practical nature. It affords ample proof for the orthodoxy of the brethren, their belief in the Holy Trinity and even in original sin (though in a new and original interpretation—still to be discussed in the *M.Q.R.*). It elaborates extensively upon the arguments against infant baptism, and presents the typical Anabaptist interpretations of the two fundamental ordinances (baptism and Lord's Supper). The specific teachings of the Hutterites concerning "community of goods" is dealt with on not more than four pages. The second part contains seven lengthy tracts by Riedemann of lesser actuality, yet revealing his high spiritual understanding of the Christian truths and his deep loyalty to the brotherhood of the regenerated ones (139-225). One very fortunate feature of the new edition is the fact that all Bible references have been removed from their original place on the margin of the text pages to a separate section. There, on thirty-eight pages, not less than 1800 such references have been put together. This eases the reading of the text proper and allows a better synopsis of all Scriptural references used. Three appendices (a brief historical sketch, some words concerning the translation, and a bibliography) round up this edition. Though "Hutterite" in its particular slant, it is yet, save for the doctrine of community of goods, a book representative for the entire South German and Austrian (and perhaps also Swiss) Anabaptist movement. No serious student of the Left-Wing-Reformation should fail to make ample use of this work.

Western Michigan College Robert Friedmann

Ich traue seinen Wunderwegen. By Wilhelm Wiswedel. Published by the author, Bayreuth (Germany), Mozart Strasse 12, 1951. Pp. 240. (Deutsche Mark 3.50).

It is with real pleasure that we announce here the publication of this genuinely Christian book of our good friend Wiswedel. His name should be familiar to any serious student of Anabaptism. The two volumes of his *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum* (reviewed in *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, 1940) are in their fashion a real classic, and we hope that soon the third volume will come out, whereupon an English edition will be prepared. His small *Balthasar Hubmaier* is a fine biography and interpretation of this early Anabaptist martyr (d. 1528). Many excellent

articles and studies from his pen, based on research with primary sources, have definitely advanced our knowledge and understanding of 16th century Anabaptism. I for one think highest of his final clarification of the issue of the so-called "Nikolsburger Artikel" which he unmasked as a bad forgery (see *Menn. Lex. III,* sub Nikolsburger Art.). Wiswedel is a preacher of the German Baptists in Bavaria, Germany, and has spent a long and dedicated life in evangelistic work of a high order. Now in his seventies, he has once more drawn from the rich font of his recollections to produce a very personal book of great Christian appeal. *Ich traue seinen Wunderwegen,* "I Trust in God's Wondrous Ways," that is in one phrase his deepest and most genuine creed. God is real and can be found everywhere in the thousand and one small and big events of our lives. Thus a splendid collection of more than one hundred eighty short stories of a devotional character was the result; they are heart-warming and well suited to strengthen one's Christian faith. The book is very well produced and would be no doubt suitable everywhere where people still like to read German books.

Western Michigan College Robert Friedmann

Un Chrétien preu-il être Objecteur de Conscience? By Pierre Lorson, S.J. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1950.

"Can a Christian be a Conscientious Objector?" The question is framed as one could expect it to be framed by a Jesuit and a casuist. Lorson, prolific Catholic author and popularizer, here treats the question of conscientious objection in the best way Roman Catholic ethics knows: by a careful and detailed weighing of situations, motives, possibilities, church pronouncements, old adages, and an occasional ethical precept. This casuistic method is grounded on the irreproachable premise that general ethical principles exist and can be applied deductively to specific cases. If Father Lorson is mistaken, the fault is not in his casuistic (i.e., reasoning) approach, but rather in the ethical raw materials which Rome's doctors have provided him.

Conscientious objection is one of the many questions on which the Roman church has taken no firm doctrinal stand. In this situation, where the church as such has not yet spoken, it would be just as wrong for Lorson to condemn his opponents as it would be for him to oppose an established doctrine. But while the fluidity of the situation forbids being categorical, it at the same time gives immense liberty for the exercise of conscience, and of casuistics. Lorson takes every advantage of that liberty to make his case.

The case, insofar as it is possible to extract main points from a step-by-step development and isolate them from the fabric of the argument, rests on two main theses: the absolute primacy of conscience, and the immorality of modern methods of warfare.

Conscience is for Lorson an absolute source of certainty which neither state nor church may infringe upon. It should be obeyed even if it is mistaken, even if it contradicts the pope. Since God is free, He may call individuals to positions which for others would be wrong, giving them the certainty of conviction which He gave, for instance, to Joan of Arc, France's warrior saint. Obviously, a conscience thus enthroned out of the reach of objective revelation becomes an arbitrary source of whatever confirmation one wants; one may be happy that Lorson wants to use it for pacific aims; he could just as freely have done the opposite.

That modern war can be considered immoral is no novelty; Lorson makes the most of the obvious fact, all the while staying within the framework of the Roman doctrine of war. Admitting that there have been, or at least can have been, just wars, he demonstrates, by applying the criteria accepted for judging the rightness of wars, that no war fought with modern weapons can be right. He can cite supporting statements from Vatican spokesmen and even from Pius XII himself.

There is certainly a great significance to be attached to the fact that a respected Catholic writer produces such a book as this. It would, however, be going too far to interpret the work as symptomatic of a rebirth of a vital peace witness within the Roman church. This for two reasons.

Firstly, Lorson follows the general tendency of European thinkers on the subject in making of the conscientious objector a "prophet." A "prophet" according to this viewpoint is not so much the voice of God as a Socratic "gadfly," necessary to have around to keep the general public from becoming complacent, but not to be taken too seriously. His position is admired, even encouraged, but it remains exceptional and not normative. In short, just as Romanism emasculated discipleship by shunting ethical concern into the monasteries, so also Lorson hamstrings pacifism by making it a matter of a special calling, a vocation. The objector is a shining example, but an example not to be imitated.

A parallel effect comes, secondly, from the method of casuistics itself, a method which, as Rome has developed it, values prudence and caution above all else. War may be wrong, modern war *is* wrong; but if a bomber pilot can not get a civilian job which will enable him to support his family, let him remain a bomber pilot, at least in peacetime. He's not doing anyone any harm. France should have an alternative service for C.O.'s; but as long as she hasn't any, it would be a shame to spend one's time in jail and begin life with a criminal record; let the young conscript do his bit in uniform like everyone else; in peacetime he'll harm no one. After all, one can't be a hero all the time. God doesn't require the impossible. *Lex non obligat cum tanto incommodo,* i.e., "you needn't do it if it puts you out any." And so, in a flurry of Latin maxims, Lorson backs out of the position he took so long to build, and leaves the Christian's cross for the "prophet." War is wrong, and in our day *any* war is wrong, but preparation for war is a mainstay of peace and of Christian civilization, and peacetime conscientious objection has no more claims on the average Roman Christian than before Lorson began his proof.

It is not the purpose of this review to draw detailed conclusions concerning the Roman Catholic approach to ethics, nor to utilize Lorson's inconclusiveness as a demonstration that the Anabaptists were right in limiting the relevance of Christian ethics to Christians. But if one were seeking such a proof, Lorson's example would be a fitting one.

Valdoie (Ter-de Belfort), France John Howard Yoder

Africa Answers. By Merle W. Eshleman. Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951. Pp. 179, illustrated, appendices. $1.50.

This book is the fitting sequel to *Africa Calls* which was published in 1937. As the former volume served to inform and introduce the constituency of the Mennonite church to the African field and the beginnings of the work there, the present one threads together the story of response over a period of seventeen years. The author has spent nearly twelve years in the Mennonite Mission which has five stations in Musoma Dis-

trict, Tanganyika Territory, British East Africa. He is a medical doctor and his service has been anchored in the medical program carried on in the hospital at Shirati station.

The chapters I-III present good orientation to Africa as a whole, and to Tanganyika Territory in particular. Even though there is a vast amount of material to cover in this orientation, the author is skillful in selecting his data, and, adequately for his purpose, presents these background materials.

Chapter IV takes up the story of the location and establishment of the mission in Musoma District. The settings of the five stations are described, together with the main activities which are found in each. The latter are more fully developed in Chapter V under the heading "Phases of the Work."

Chapter VI leads into the main objectives of the book, viz., to relate the power of the Gospel as it is released in a context of Islam and animism. The early sowings of the seed, the disappointments and frustrations, the quickenings of revival, are traced sympathetically. The church as it has emerged from the African soil is presented in Chapter VIII. It is seen as a living organism, although it has also the beginnings of an organizational framework which gives a liberal place to the nationals.

Two chapters give interesting insights into the needs and experiences of the missionary himself. A brief introduction is presented in Chapter XI of new field in Ethiopia which the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities is developing.

Interest is added to the volume by the memoirs and appendices with which the book is concluded. The former deal with the life and contribution of two missionaries who have gone from the field of service here, to a higher and nobler one, Bishop W. Ray Wenger, and Mrs. Elam Stauffer. The appendices include informational data such as points of interest in East Africa, outstanding events in the history of Africa and the Mennonite Mission, present status of the various stations, and a list of missionaries and their children who have been and are associated with the witness in East Africa.

The book serves well to bring the reader up to date on the development of one of the major mission fields of the Mennonite Church. Those who seek to be abreast of these outreach developments cannot afford to pass by this presentation.

Goshen College John H. Mosemann

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

(Concluded from page 163)

Of course, a more thorough study of the naturalization laws should be made than I have been able to make. As far as I have been able to determine, the law of William and Mary was still in force at the time the first Mennonites in Lancaster were naturalized. It required residence of seven years as part of the qualification for naturalization, which of course would fit with the presentation of the petition on 1724, seven years after the larger number had reached Pennsylvania in 1717. This matter is at least worthy of investigation, for it seems strange indeed that there was such a lack of communication in the early days between these two largest bodies of Mennonites in Pennsylvania.

Respectfully yours,
Martin H. Brackbill
New Cumberland, Pa.